

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

quarterly research organ of the Bhavan
on all subjects connected with Indian Culture

VOLUME XXXIX No 1
1979

Editors

PROF JAYANTKRISHNA H DAVE M A LL B
PROF S A UPADHYAYA M A





BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY-400 007

Issued in April 1979

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

CONTENTS

Page

A SURVEY OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN ASTROLABES

By

VIJAI GOVIND

Amidst all the historical astronomico-mathematical Instruments used by the Muslim astronomer-geographers in India in the medieval times, the most familiar was the astrolabes in various forms which undoubtedly occupies a place of considerable significance in the history of scientific Instruments in India The astrolabe has had a long history at their credit The word is derived from the two Greek Words meaning thereby 'a star" and 'to take"[1]

Except Astrolabes, there can hardly be said to have been any instrument of precission before the invention of the telescope, the Microscope and the Verniers But as necessity known no law it becomes the mother of invention Since the need for the land measure, for levelling and the measurement of the heights was keenly felt by the Astronomer-geographers, the world developed several interesting instruments, without which the Astronomical observations on scientific lines would not had been possible in medieval times In ancient times, it is held that the ancient surveyors measured distances by the use of a rope or a wooden rod The unit of measurement differed in different culture-areas in different times They laid off right angles by the use of an instrument resembling the carpenter's square of the present day[2]

Astrolabe is a versatile scientific Instrument with wide applications in astronomy, geography, surveying and in astrology, and played an important role in the scientific investigations of the medieval times in the Middle East Latin Europe and India

The antiquity[2a] of Astrolabes dates back atleast to Hipparchus (150 B C) and perhaps even earlier to Eratosthenes It appears that the Alexandrian Greeks were acquainted with instruments of this type in the 6th and 7th Centuries, John Philoponus and Severus Sebokht wrote treatises on the instrument Further perfection and development of astrolabes were without doubt due to the Arab astronomers and scientifically trained master craftsmen In Europe its brilliant period coincided with Renaissance until it was superseded by telescopes and their varied applications in astronomy and other fields In the Middle East, India and elsewhere where the introduction of telescope and related instruments were delayed astrolabe continued to remain the versatile instrument that it was

till the end of the 18th century. In India, the majority of Astrolabes that have so far come to light belong to the 17th and 18th Centuries, although a few pieces of much older date and those constructed as late as the 19th Century are known Dickenson and Howarth[3] holds that in many ways it is the forerunner of the modern sextant, a more sophisticated instrument It became a favourite instrument to the Muslim scientists who effected many improvements on the older models

As a result of many improvements the Muslim scientists used the astrolabes for finding the height of any star on immediate obser vation and thereby knowing the hours, day and night already spent, then in addition to solving many problems of spherical Astronomy it was useful in undertaking Geodetic operations e g for calculating the distance of an accessible place, the height of a building, the depth of a well whose diameter could be measured It is obvious that such a small Instrument would not give great accuracy and especially in the case of observations connected with celestial phenomena, where on account of the precession of the equinoxes and the diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic, variations occur over a period of time It was only after the advent of telescope, the modern sextant and theodolites gave precession to our observations and measurements In fact till the 17th Century the mariners went on using the astrolabes for the direct measurement of the altitude of the sun

It is not intended to provide a history of Astrolabe making, but some of the outstanding makers of this instrument and other writers on the subject deserves passing mention The earliest makers of the astrolabes among the Muslims were al-Fazāri (d 796 A D), al-Nairīzi (d 972 A D), Al-Khāzim (i e Kitāb Zīz as-Safeih), Al-Khujandi (d 382 A H/922 A D flourished in the Court of Fakhr ad-Dawla) The Buwaihid, constructed an instrument known as 'Sudas al-Fakhrī (some kind of Astrolabes) by means of which the latitudes of the places were found out It has been called the forerunner of the modern Sextant[4] Al-Jillī (971 AH 1029 AD, al-Sāghānī and Rustom al-Kūhī of Baghdad (towards 1000 A D) are also worthy of mention Al-Birūnī was not only a great writer on instruments in use in his several Risalas[5] on Usṭurlab and in the Kitāb al-Tafhim,[6] but he also mentions al-Khunjandī, his friend and contemporary Abu-Sa'id as-Sinjari (maker of a big Astrolabe), and al-Jilli Al-Berūnī himself was no less an inventor of many instruments besides his Astrolabe[7]

In the west al-Zarqālī (1029-1088 A D) was the outstanding maker of astrolabes and his Safiha exerted the most-far-reaching influence on the use of the improved astrolabes in Europe Later in

the East, Badı al-Zamân (A D 1139/40) Uṣṭurlābi was one of the most efficient astrolabe maker of the time[8] He also constructed a celestial sphere and a globe among other Instruments

The continued use and construction of good instruments is evident in the days of ullugh Beg at Samerkuand It was quite lately, the craft spread to India, where from the Humayun's time onwards the family of Ḍiā ud Din uṣturlābı constructed many astrolabes during three to four generations[9] In India the majority of the Muslim and the Indian Astrolabes that have so far surveyed are mainly of two types[9a]

1 Planisphaerium or Flat (astrolabium planisphaerium i e Saṭḥı or musaṭṭah or Dhat as-Ṣafih type which consists of several tablets

2 Spherical

The commonest is the first type which represent the projections of the celestial sphere on a flat surface The second is the representation of the sphere itself, while the third is the projection of a straight line of the projections of the sphere on a plane The majority of the astrolabes, so far come to light are flat a few spherical examples are also recorded but representatives of the Linear type have not yet been met with in India

The flat astrolabe consists of a circular disc of which the front face (*wadjih*) has usually a raised rim (*kuffa*) and the back (*Zahar*) plane Called variously by name 'mother, 'mater' (*umm*), the disc is provided with a projecting part the throne or *kursı* to which is attached a ring (*halqa*) for the purpose of suspending the instrument in the vertical position The raised rim is graduated into 36 degrees and generally marked at intervals of 5 or 6 degrees beginning from the upper end of the vertical line In some, the four quadrants are separately graduated into 90 degrees The inner plane surface of several astrolabes are engraved with the names of places (al bilad), and their latitudes (*arud*) and longitudes (*itwāl*) within a series of concentric circles In some astrolabes, the positions of places with respect to Mecca are indicated by inhirāf (inclination), *masafat* (distance) and *jihat* (point of the compass) In some astrolabes, the ventor is engraved with projections of the celestial spheres for a particular latitude and in some it is simply left blank

The back of the astrolabe contains several information of astronomical, astrological and geographical consequence as also tables for calculations Generally, the rim of each of the two upper quadrants is graduated into 90 degrees One of the two upper quadrants

usually the left, is engraved with horizontal lines from the vertical line to the periphery,—in some both horizontal and vertical lines, to serve the purpose of a graphic table of sines The other contains declination graphs The two lower quadrants are engraved with shadow scales, one at the periphery in both the lower quadrants and the other in the form of a rectangle The scales are based on the divisions of the style into twelve parts or fingers (*asābi'a*) or into seven feet (*aqdām*) and are given for both *umbra rects* (*mustawi*) and *umbrs versa* (*ma'kus*) The nature of the shadow scale reveals that it is engraved at the sides of the rectangle and also at the beginning at the rim near the horizontal line

Certain astrolabes contain a number of semicircles in the space between the periphery and the rectangular shadow scale, which are engraved with the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, 28 *manzils* (lunar mansions), division of each sign into three parts 10, 20 and 30 (decans), and the planetary Lords Special tables such as Egyptian Table of Hudud (limits), Table of Trigons or Triplicates, Table of Climates etc are engraved in some astrolabes in the space within the rectangular shadow scale Others contain calendrical information.

The majority of astrolabes contain a number of discs or circular tablets which can be fitted within the mother and fixed with the help of a pin passing through a hole at the centre of the mother and each of the tablets, one of them is a special tablet called *'ankabūt'* or *shabakah*, that is 'Spider' or 'rete' *It is skilfully cut so as to show* up the ecliptic circle with the names of the Zodiac and a graduated circle engraved on it and a number of pointers or indicators (*shaziva, shatba*) containing the names of a few prominent stars The ornamental character of the astrolabe is due much to the design of the *'ankabūt'* It has a pointer (*muri*) attached to the ecliptic at the top and a peg (*mudīr*) on the rim diametrically opposite, with which it can be roated within the mother

Other tablets called *ṣafāih* are engraved with sterographic projections of the horizon, circles of altitudes (*almucantarāts*), the two tropics the equator, azimuth and hour circles for a particular latitude In this type, the equator is taken as the plane of projection and either of the poles as the observer's station The latitude corresponding *to the projections and the duration of the longest day* in hours minutes are engraved The tablet for the latitude 62½° is called the tablet for measures on the *ankabut* (*Ṣafīhah Mīzān* a l ankabūt) because the coordinates of stars on the spider can be read with its help The *almucantarāts* are engraved at intervals of 1°, 2°, 3°, 6° to 10° on account of which the astrolabes are classified as complete (*tamm*), bipartite (nisfi), tripartite (thulthi);

sexpartite (sudsi) and *'ashri'*. Like the *ṣafiḥah mīzān-al-'ankabūt*, there is an another special tablet containing projections of horizons (*āfāqiah*), often engraved on one side of the same tablet of which the other side contains the *'ankabūt'* coordinates.

To avoid the necessity of using separate tablets for different latitudes, inherent in equitorial projections, al-Zarqāli devised the horizontal projections in which the Solstitial colume is taken as the plane of projection and either of the equinoctial points as the centre of projection. One such Zarqāli astrolabe has also been reported.

Another important component of the astrolabe is the dioptre or revolving piece (*al-iḍāde*). The dioptre is bevelled at the centre and provided with a hole for fitting it at the back of the astrolabe by means of the pin (*quṭb*). The *al-iḍāde* has at each end a perforated tile (*libna*) for sighting purpose. Both the arms are graduated.

For the study of the salient features of the large number of Medieval Indian Astrolabes, which were used in India, it would be necessary to categorise them under two heads:—

(1) Astrolabes deposited in the Museum/Institutions/Libraries.

(2) Astrolabes deposited in the Private Collections.

In the former, the astrolabes are actually preserved as a historical pieces while in the later they are reported as the private collections by the number of indologists. Under the former, the astrolabes deposited in the different organizations of Delhi, Jaipur, Calcutta, Patna, Hyderabad, Rampur, Varanasi and Lucknow are worthy of mention.

1. *Astrolabes deposited in the Museums, Organization/Institutions of India:*

(A) Astrolabes of the National Museum, New Delhi.

1. Vuhlomala's undated Astrolabe.
2. Dharma Chand's undated Astrolabe.
3. Gulam Qādir of Kapurthala, student of Ballumal, astronomer of Lahore (1278 A H samvat 1918).
4. An unknown, undated Astrolabe.
5. An unknown, undated Astrolabe
6. An unknown, dated AH 1129, Astrolabe.

(B) Astrolabes of the Astronomical observatory of Maharaj Jai Singh, Jaipur.

1. An unknown, dated 1799 Samvat, A.D. 1877, Astrolabe.

2. An unknown, dated 18th century, Astrolabe.
3. An unknown, dated 18th century, Astrolabe.
4. An unknown, undated, Astrolabe.
5. An unknown, undated, Astrolabe.
6. Ibn Mulla Qāsım Muhammad Ibn Hafiz Isa b. Allāh Dad Humāyni Ziā-al-Din Astrolabe (constructed in the 23rd year of the reıgn of Aurangzeb) A.H. 1091, 1630 A.D.
7. *An unknown, dated 1067 A.H., 1657 A.D. Astrolabe* (31st year of the reign of Shāhajahan).
8. An unnamed, undated (17th century A.D.) Astrolabe.

(C) Astrolabes of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1. *J'afar ibu' Umral Kırmani's undated Astrolabe.*
2. Muhammad Amın ıbu Muhammad Tāhir's undated Astrolabe.

(D) Astrolabes of the Mulla Feroz Library, Bombay.

1. An unnamed, dated, quadrant A.H. 1136, 1723 A.D.
2. A'bd-al-A'ly's dated Astrolabe 1119 A.H. i.e. 1707.

(E) Astrolabes of the Archaeologıcal Museum, Red Fort, New Delhi.

1. Zıā-al-Din Muhammad Ibn Mulla, A.H. 1087, A.D. 1676, Astrolabe.
2. Muhammad Sālih of Tatta, dated, A.H. 1070 A.D. 1660. Astrolabe.
3. An unnamed, undated, Astrolabe.
4. An unnamed, undated, Astrolabe.
5. An unnamed, undated (13th century), Astrolabe.
6. An unnamed, undated (17th century), Astrolabe.
7. Muhammad Muqīm ibn Mullah, b. Isa Ibn al-Haddād Uṣṭurlābi lāhorī Humāyunī, 1034 A.H., 1625 A.D. Astrolabe.
8. Muhammad Muqīm ibns 'Iṣa ibn al-Haddād Uṣṭurlābi Humāyunī Lāhorī, 1047 A.H., 1637 A.D. Astrolabe

(F) Astrolabes of the Rampur Raja Library, Rampur.

1. Sarraj's Astrolabe, 615 A.H. i e. 1204 A.D.
2. Ziā-'uddın, son of Muhammad. A.H. 1074 A.D. 1663, Astrolabe

(G) Astrolabes in the Library of Sir Nawab Salarjung Bahadur's Museum, Hyderabad

1 Allāh-Dād of Lahore's, Astrolabe 975 A H

2 Ziā-uddin Muhammad's, Astrolabe 1064 A H

(H) Astrolabe of the Oriental Library, Bankipur, Patna

1 Ziā-uddin Muhammad's dated Astrolabe 1074 A H

(I) Astrolabes of the Nadwātul Ulma Library, Lucknow

1 Ziā uddin Muhammad's dated Astrolabe 1059 A H

2 & 3 Unnamed, undated Astrolabes

(J) Astrolabes of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi

1 Mohd. Mehudi Asphāhani dated Astrolabe 1071 A H i e 1660 A D

2 An unnamed, undated Astrolabe (About 18th c)

3 An unnamed, undated, Astrolabe (Late 18th or 19th century)

(K) An Astrolabe in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1 Yantarāj Harnath's dated Astrolabe Samvat 1695, i e 1830 A D

2 *Astrolabes in the private collections*

(A) In the Private Collection of Mr J B Patil as reported by M P Kharaghat

(B) In the Private Collection (dated 1074 A H) of Prof Mahfuzal Haqu of Presidency College, Calcutta as reported by S S Nadvi (Qaim Muhammad s dated Astrolabe of A H 1034)

(C) In the Private Collection of Abu Baker of Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh as reported by S S Nadvi

The above listed Astrolabes about forty one in number as already mentioned belonged to their two fundamental types It would be pertinent here to briefly discuss some of their salient features

(A) *ASTROLABES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI* [10]

Vuhlomalla's undated[11] *Astrolabe*

It consists of a single brass disc of diameter 9 3 cm and 1 40 mm inscribed in *Devanagari* script and numerals The face contains

eleven concentric rings. The first three rings are blank; the next divided into twelve spaces contain the names of the twelve signs beginning with *Mesa* at the vertical line and ending with *Mina*. In the next two rings, each sign is divided into 30 degrees at intervals of two degrees and marked at the intervals of six degrees (three divisions). The same is repeated in the next three rings. The two rings at the periphery are graduated into 360 degrees and marked at the intervals of six degrees, e.g. 1°, 2°, 3°, to 60. The central region is marked 'latitude 36° 58'. The back is divided into four quadrants, each graduated into 90 degrees from the horizontal to the vertical line and marked at the intervals of 6 degrees, e.g. 6°, 12°, 18° to 90°. Immediately below the graduations at the periphery, there are five annular rings running through the four quadrants and marked with numerals.

Dharma Chands' undated Astrolabe.[12]

It is a flat brass astrolabe inscribed in Arabic script (*Naskhi*) and numerals It consists of the mater and the dioptre (*al-idade*) fixed at the back. The mater is of dia 10.5 cm. and thickness 2.50 mm. and is fitted at the centre with an annular ring of outer dia. 5.5 cm and inner dia. 4.2 cm. and a circular disc within the annulus, of dia. 4.2 cm. Both the ring and the central disc can be rotated with the help of a raised pin attached to each of the pieces The face is engraved with six annular rings of varying widths The first two rings starting from the periphery are divided into eight spaces by radial lines These spaces are engraved with month names in the following order starting from top and proceeding anti-clockwise:

1st ring: September June March February August May
October July December November April
January

2nd ring: July September June March November August
May January April December February
October

The following rings are engraved with the names of the seven days of the week along with months. The rim contains the legend that the upper disc should be moved after four years because in this above mentioned year the month of February has 29 days. The back is marked with a number of annular rings. The inner ring contains the names of twelve sings of the zodiac. In the next ring each zodiac is divided into 30 degrees marked at the intervals of 6 degrees. The next ring contains 60 divisions marked by Arabic numerals 1°, 2°, 3° to 60. The use of this astrolabes was primarily calendrical.

Gulam Qādir's Astrolabe[13]

It is dated in A H 1278 samvat 1918 It was constructed by Gulam Qadir of Kapurthala, a student of Ballumal, astronomer of Lahore under the orders of Raijāda Shankerdas Harbanspuri It is a flat brass astrolabe inscribed in Arabic numerals and script (*Naskhi*) The instrument includes the mater of dia 33 6 cm the *'ankabut* of dia 27 6 cm., two tablets of dia 27 6 cm each and the dioptre (*al-idāde*) of length 29 cm The tablets are fixed by a pin The mater has no raised rim unlike most flat astrolabes There are four rings in the periphery, the first three containing the names of places and their latitudes and longitudes and the fourth innermost ring containing graduations into 360 degrees marked at intervals of 6 degrees The central space immediately after the rings is engraved with the projections of the two tropics, the *almucanṭarāts*, azimuth circles, hour circles etc for the latitude 32° The *almucanṭarāts* are given at intervals of 3 degrees, that is, the astrolabe is a tripartite (*thulthi*) In the back, the upper quadrants contain the usual sine graph and in the lower quadrants, the shadow scales are in digits and feets The *'ankabut* contains the ecliptic circle engraved at its rim with the names of signs of twelve zodiacs, each sign being graduated into 30 degrees marked at the intervals of 6 degrees The indicators carry the names of 22 stars, — 8 outside the ecliptic circle and 13 within it One tablet contains the projections of horizons on both sides and the other contains almucanṭarāts etc for latitude 36° on one side only The astrolabe is a specimen of fine workmanship

An unknown undated Astrolabe [14]

The piece consists of one brass disc of diameter 13 2 cm with a circular cut at the centre fitted with a glass piece of diameter 3 cm The face has engraved on it having a circle of diameter 6 3 cm The back is fitted with a fixed *al-idāde* of length 13 2 cm The dioptre has at its two ends two plates at right angles to its face, and it is also provided with sighting holes and slots The instrument is incomplete in its parts

An unknown and undated Astrolabe [15]

It is a flat astrolabe made of brass and inscribed in Arabic numerals and script (*Naskhi*) It consists of the mater of dia 14 cm the *'ankabūt* of dia 12 2 cm and the dioptre of length, all fitted together by a pin passing through a central hole in each piece The mater has no raised rim The periphery of the face is graduated into 360 degrees in an inner circle and 60 degrees in an outer circle where it is marked as 1°, 2°, 3° to 60 The rest of the face within

the circular scale is engraved with projections of the altitude circles (*almucanțarāts*) at intervals of 6 degrees (that is, the astrolabe is a *sudsi*), the azimuth circles the two tropics, the equator, the hour circles, with *the two extremities of the horizon marked* 'east' (*mashriq*) and 'west' (*maghrib*) The back is divided into four quadrants of which the two upper ones have their peripheries graduated into 90 degrees marked at the interval of 6 degrees The upper right contains the sine graph and the upper left is kept blank The lower quadrants *contains the rectangular shadow scale, the rim is divided* into 15 divisions in each of the lower quadrants, but not marked, giving the impression that the astrolabe was not completed The *'ankabut* contains the ecliptic divided into twelve zodiacs with their names engraved, each sign is subdivided into five parts and marked 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30 *Eleven stars are engraved on the indicators* (*shaziva*) of the spider

An unknown and undated Astrolabe [16]

The astrolabe is made of brass and is engraved in *Naskhi* character and Arabic numerals Its component parts are the mater of dia 15.3 cm. (length of the suspension system— 5 5 cm), the *'ankabut* of dia. 13.3 *cm* 3 *tablets of dia* 13 3 *cm each, and the* dioptre (*al-idade*) of length 13 6 cm The different pieces are fixed in the mater by a pin passing through a central *hole in each piece*. The rim of the mater is graduated in an outer circle into 60 divisions, each division being further subdivided into 6 degrees in the next inner circle The ventor is engraved with three groups of rings each containing the names of places and their latitudes and longi tudes The back contains the sine table on the upper right quadrant and the shadow scales in the two lower quadrants The remaining space *is left blank The 'ankabūt contains the graduated* ecliptic with the names of the twelve signs of the zodiacs engraved on it A few names of stars are engraved on the pointers Other tablets contains the *almucanțarāts* drawn at the intervals of 6 degrees, *the azimuth and hour circles etc The astrolabe is sexpartite* (*sudsi*) The workmanship is ordinary

An unknown, dated Astrolabe of A H 1199 [17]

It is a flat astrolabe made of brass It consists of the mater (umm) *of dia 15 1 cm (length of the suspension system with kursi* and *halqa* 0 1 cm.) the spider (*ankabūt*) and seven tablets, each of dia 13 5 cm The dioptre is missing The astrolabe is inscribed in *Naskhi* character and *abjad* notation for numerals The raised rim of the mater is graduated into 90 degrees in each quadrant in the anticlockwise direction and marked at the intervals of 5 deg-

rees The ventor is engraved with three groups of concentric rings, each group containing the names of places and their latitudes and longitudes The back is engraved with the sine table (upper left), declination circles (upper right) and the shadow scales, both circular (at the periphery) and rectangular (symmetrically at two lower quadrants) The shadow scales are given in both feet and digits The *'ankabūt* contains the usual ecliptic circle divided into twelve parts, each graduated into 30 degrees and marked by the name of a sign of the zodiac The indicators of the spider are engraved with the names of 24 stars One of the seven tablets contains the projections of horizons (*āfāqiyah*) on both sides The remaining tablets contain projections of the two tropics, the *almucantarats*, the hour circles, temporal lines etc for different latitudes The *almucanṭarats* are given at the intervals of 3 degrees, that is the astrolabe is a tripartite (*thulthi*) one

(B) *ASTROLABES IN THE ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY OF MAHARAJA JAI SINGH, JAIPUR*[18]

An Unknown dated Instrument, Samvat 1799, A D 1664[19]

Described as *Yantra Rāj*, it is a tripartite (*thulthi*) astrolabe It marked latitude 27° N It has an ecliptic circle and a ruler The obverse contains azimuth lines for 30°, 60° and 90° and also temporal hour lines The following names of the stars, in their Sanskrit names are engraved *Samudra pakṣī, Rōhiṇi, Ārdrā, Lubdhaka, Puṣya, Maghā, Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Anurādhā, Abhijit, Srāvana, Satajiva (Satabhiṣaj) Pūrvabhādrapāda*

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe (c 18th Century)[20]

It is a single brass piece astrolabe, 7 feet in diameter The instrument has an ecliptic circle and a tube sighter The projections of altitude circles, the *almucantarats*, are engraved at intervals of 1°, that is, it is a complete astrolabe (*tāmm*) The projections are for the latitude of 27° N

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe (c 18th Century)[21]

It is a large astrolabe consisting of a single disc 7 feet in dia meter Some sixty sheets of iron were rivetted together to make this gigantic metal instrument ,

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe[22]

It is a flat astrolabe engraved with *Devanagari* characters It consists of the mater of dia 40 6 cm (16 inches), the spider of dia 36 9 cm, two discs of the same dia and the spider and the

dioptre of length 38 cm The raised rim of the face is graduated into 360 degrees The back is divided into the usual four quadrants, containing the sine table and the shadow scales The declination graphs are for 27° and 29° 39′ The ecliptic of the spider is graduated at intervals of 6 degrees, but most of the indicators do not carry the names of stars The tablets contain projections for the litittudes of 27 and 72 degrees and one containing celestial latitudes and longitudes is intended for measuring the positions of the stars on the spider Kaye describes the instrument as a copy of a Persian astrolabe of inferior workmanship

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe[23]

It is a flat brass astrolabe engraved in *Naskhi* character and *abjad* notation The mater is 15 24 cm (6 inches) in dia The rim of the face is graduated in each quadrant into 90 degrees marked at the intervals of five degrees The ventor is engraved with a series of concentric annular rings containing the names of places and their longitudes The back has on its upper left quadrant the sine table with periphery graduated into 90 degrees marked at intervals of 5 degrees, and declination circles on the upper right, with the rim graduated in the same manner The periphery of the two lower quadrants is engraved with the circular shadow scales in feet and digits The semi circular rings following the graduated periphery contains the names of the twelve signs of the zodiacs alongwith further divisions of each sign, planets etc The spider (*ankabūt*) has engraved on its pointers (*shaziya*) the names of 25 stars The piece is one of fine workmanship

Astrolabe of Ibn Mulla Qāsim Muhammad Ibn Hafiz Isa b Allāh Dād Humayuni, Zia-al-Din, A H 1091 A D 1680[24]

The Astrolabe was made for Nawab Iftikhār Khān This is a 'Zarqali astrolabe and is of considerable importance owing to the rarety of its type in India Its maker belonged to the family of Lahore Astrolabe makers It is made of brass and consists of a single brass disc two feet in diameter The instrument is labelled as "*Yantra jara kali sarva desi*" In order to make it universally applicable irrespective of the latitude of the place of observation and without the necessity of using separate disc for different latitudes, horizontal projection was substituted for the polar one In Zarqali astrolabes the solstitial colour serves as the plane of projection and one of the equinoctial points as the centre of projection The Observe, like ordinary astrolabes, has the periphery of its two upper quadrants graduated into 90 degrees marked at the intervals of three degrees The periphery of the lower quadrants are graduated in

shadow scales The next series of concentric annular rings contain the names of the signs of the zodiacs, the manazils and the planets The central part of the disc is engraved with projections of a sphere and contains a sine table The reverse is engraved with horizontal projections using the plane of the solstitial colour as already mentioned By this method of projection, both the celestial hemispheres are mapped The names of several stars are engraved in *Devanagari* character, e g , *Marici*, *Pulaha*, etc The names of a number of important towns, e g , *Halab* (Aleppo), *Tus*, *Kabul*, *Jahanabad* and *Lahore* are engraved and the same projections can be used for reading their longitudes and latitudes The numerals are engraved in *abjad* notation It is engraved on the instrument that it was constructed in the 23rd years of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe of A H 1067, A D 1657[25]

It is a brass plane astrolabe inscribed in *Naskhi* characters and *abjad* notation for numerals It consists of the 'mother' or mater of dia. 33 cm (13 inches), the spider (*'ankabūt*) of dia. 30 50 cm and a number of tablets (*safāih*) The length of the *kursi* and the *halqa* taken together above the disc of the mother proper is 23 8 cm The raised rim on the face (*wadjih*) is graduated in 360 degrees marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The ventor contains six groups of annular rings, each containing three, and inscribed with the names, latitudes and longitudes of 210 places *inhirāfs* (inclination) are not given. The rim of the two upper quadrants on the back (zahar) is each graduated into 90 degrees marked at intervals of 5 degree from the horizontal to the vertical line The left quadrant is a sinecosine table, the right quadrant contains declination circles with the names of six signs of zodiac each marked against the horizontal and the vertical line in the following order *Horizontal Line Gemini, Taurus, Aries, Pisces, Aquarius, Capricornus, Vertical Line Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius* The two lower quadrants are engraved with the usual shadow scales in feet and digits, both circular at the periphery and rectangular in the centre Immediately after the circular scale at the periphery, there are semicircular rings engraved with the names of signs, 28 lunar mansions, their divisions in decans etc A special feature of the astrolabe is that it contains in a central rectangle at the back, a table of rising signs The lower right gives a table of the regents of the trigons The *'ankabūt* is artistically cut to provide a number of indicators engraved with star names and zodiacal signs on the ecliptic circle The tablets contain the projections of the altitude circles, the tropics, the equator, hour circles, temporal lines etc It is engraved that the astrolabe was constructed in the 31st year of the reign of shāhajahān

An unnamed, undated Astrolabe (c 17th century A. D)[26]

It is a brass astrolabe of the type of planisphaerum, inscribed in Arabic (*Naskhi*) characters and *abjad* numerals It consists of the mother (*umm*) of dia 33 cm (13 inches), seven tablets includ ing the *'ankabūt*, each of dia 30 cm and the dioptre (*al-idāde*) of length 28 8 cm The dia of the mater with the suspending system (*the kursi and halqa*) *is 52 8 cm The raised rim of the ventor* is graduated into 360 degrees and marked at the intervals of 3 degrees, each degree being further sub-divided into four parts The back of the astrolabe is divided into four quadrants The rim of the two upper quadrants is graduated into 90 degrees, marked at the *intervals of 3 degrees from the horizontal to the vertical lines*, serves the purpose of the sine-cosine table The two lower quad rants contain the shadow scales, both circular and rectangular in nature A special feature of the astrolabe lies in its table of climates towards the bottom of the lower half of the back and a rectangular *table in the lower left, showing multiples of the differences* between the approximately correct length of the tropical year and 365 days It also has a table of trigons The *'ankabut* comprising of the usual ecliptic circle carrying twelve signs of the zodiacs and a number of stars on its indicators (*shaziya*), shows the forms of *constellation animals* The discs are *engraved with almucantarāts*, azimuths, temporal hour lines etc for different latitudes and the longest days corresponding to these latitudes The *kursi* bears the inscription *yantrarāja* (king of instruments) in *Devanagari* The workmanship is excellent

(C) *ASTROLABES OF INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA*[27]

An undated Astrolabe of J'afar bin 'Umral Kirmani[28]

This is a flat astrolabe made of brass and engraved in *Kufic* character Its figures in *abjad* notation are again marked in *Kufic* character The various pieces comprising the astrolabe include the mater of dia 7 8 cm the total height of the instrument with the suspension system (*Kursi* plus *halqa*) being 12 5 cm. the spider (*'ankabut*) of dia 6 5 cm and four tablets of dia 6 5 cm The dioptre (*alidāde*) is missing The raised rim of the face is graduated into *360 degrees marked at the intervals of 5 degrees e g 5, 10, 15, 20,* 25, 30 and so on The ventor is engraved with a series of concentric rings divided into annular spaces containing the names of places and their latitudes, longitudes etc The back is divided into four quadrants, the rim of each being graduated into 90 degrees and marked at the intervals of 5 degrees Next to the scale is a circle containing the names of the twelve zodiacs, three in each quadrant, begin-

ning with *al-Jaddi* (Capricorn) in the upper left quadrant in the anticlockwise direction and ending with *al-Qaus* (Sagittarius) in the upper right quadrant Each sign is again divided into five equal parts Central space unlike most astrolabes, is engraved with projections of altitudes, the tropics, the equator and the horizon The lower quadrants however carry the rectangular shadow scales The *'ankabūt* is cut into a number of sharply pointed *shaziyas* (indicators), engraved with star names and carries the usual ecliptic circle with the names of the zodiacs The tablets contain the projections of horizons, and altitude circle (*almucanṭarāts*), azimuths, hour circle etc for a number of selected latitudes Workmanship as well as engravings in the *Kufic* characters are excellent.

An undated Astrolabe of Muhammad Amin ibn Muhammad Tahir[29]

It is engraved by Abdul Aimmah. It is a flat brass astrolabe inscribed in Arabic (*Nakshi*) characters It consists of a 'mother or mater of dia 18 6 cm. and provided with a *kursi* and *halqa* of length 3 cm the spider (*'ankabūt*) of dia 16 7 cm 6 tablets of dia. 16 7 cm each and the dioptre of lenght 17 3 cm One sighting piece from the dioptre is missing The various pieces are fitted in the mater by a pin passing through a central hole of all the pieces The raised rim of the face of the mater is graduated into 360 degrees marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The ventor contains a number of concentric circles providing annular rings engraved with the names of 44 places with their latitudes, longitudes and also their *inhirāfs* (inclination) and jihats (point of compass) The back has on the upper left a quadrant having the sine table the rim being graduated into 90 degrees marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The upper right is engraved with declination circles The two lower quadrants contain the two circular shadow scales one marked in feet and the other in digits The circular scales are followed by semi circular rings engraved with the names of the 28 manazils, names of twelve zodiacs the decans and their lords The rectangular shadow scales in feet and digits are engraved in the centre The trigons and their lords are given in the space within the rectangular scale The *'ankabut* has 44 indicators (*shaziya*) each engraved with the name of a star, in addition to a graduated ecliptic circle marked with the names of twelve signs of the zodiac The remaining tablets contain the usual stereographic projections of the horizon, the two tropics, the ecliptic altitude circles etc The projections of the horizons and the measures on the *'ankabut* form one tablet The others exhibit *almucanṭarāts* for different latitudes and their longest days in hours and minutes The workmanship of the astrolabe is excellent

(D) *ASTROLABES OF THE MULLA FEEROZ LIBRARY, BOMBAY.*[30]

An unnamed dated Quadrant of A H 1136/1723-24 A D [31]

It is a wooden quadrant probably intented for use as a partial pocket astrolabe The lines and numerical figures engraved and coloured in red and black indicate delicate and fine workmanship The quadrant was prepared from a place having the latitude of 41°, which was located in the neighbourhood of Sararqand, a city once famous for its astronomical observatory The front of the quadrant engraved *with equidistant horizontal and vertical lines and provided* with a graduated rim (90 degrees marked at intervals of 5°) gives the sine and the cosine scales The back of the quadrant represents the fourth part of the disc containing the projections of *almucanṭarāts* corresponding to a latitude of 41°. Discs with such projections usually form parts of plane astrolabes

Abdul Ali's dated Astrolabe, A H 1119, 1707 A D[32]

The astrolabe is plane and made of brass *It consists of the* mater, the spider, the five discs and the dioptre The mater is 13 25 cm in dia, the spider and the discs 11 6 cm in dia each and the dioptre 11 5 cm in length The rim of the mater is graduated in 360 degrees and marked at intervals of 5 degrees The ventor has eight concentric *circles of which the 4th and the 8th are vacant and* the remaining two groups of three annular rings are engraved with the names of 45 places and their latitudes and longitudes At the back, the rim of the upper two quadrants are graduated in 90 degrees from the horizontal line to the vertical and marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The upper *left engraved* with *horizontal lines* from the vertical line to the circumference, is intended for use as a sine table The upper right is blank The rim of the lower quadrants contains circular scale for shadow measurements in feet and digits The rectangular shadow scales for both *umbra recta* (*mustawi*) and *umbra versa* (*ma'kus*) in digits (*asabi'a*) and feet (*aqdam*) are engraved in the central region of the two lower quadrants in a symmetrical manner The spider (*'ankabut*) contains 24 stars in addition to the ecliptic circle with twelve signs of the zodiacs engraved on it The five tablets contain the usual tablet of horizons, the measures on the *'ankabut*, and circles of altitudes for latitudes 18°, 22°, 32°, 25°, 36°, 29°, 34° 38° and 40° with the longest day *for the latitudes concerned* *Almucanṭarāts are* marked for every two degrees of altitude All numerical figures are in *abjad* notation

(E) *ASTROLABES OF THE ARCHAELOGICAL MUSEUM, RED FORT, NEW DELHI.*[33]

Zia al-Din Muhammad Ibn Mulla's Astrolabe, A. H 1087, i e A D. 1676[34]

It is a brass mounted sphere fitted with a horizontal and a vertical ring within which the sphere is placed and is capable of rotation to about any axis The diameter of the sphere is 6 8 cm The inner and outer diameters of the two rings are 6 9 cm and 8.7 cm (horizontal ring) and 8 cm (vertical ring). The horizontal ring is graduated and is marked with four cardinal points The sphere is engraved with the ecliptic and the equator circles The ecliptic is divided into twelve spaces each containing the names of a sign e g *Hamal* (Aries), *Thaur* (Taurus), *Jauza* (Gemini), *Saratan* (Cancer), *Asad* (Leo), etc Each zodiac is sub-divided at the intervals of two degrees and marked 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30 The positions of large number of stars, each indicated by a dot enclosed in small circles are given, and the names of most of them are clearly engraved in Naskhi characters Kaye has given the names of 70 of these stars, together with their latitudes and longitudes, their modern equivalents By a comparison of the longitudes as given on the sphere with those given in Ulegh Beg's Star Catalogue after taking into account the precession of the equinoxes, Kaye determined the age of the spherical astrolabe as A D 1664, which is much nearer to the date inscribed on the astrolabe itself

Muhammad Salih of Tatta's Astrolabe, A H 1070, A D 1660[35]

This is a brass celestial sphere without stand The stand with the mounting arrangement is probably lost The diameter of the sphere is 21 2 cm Arabic (naskhi) script is used in the engravings Longitudes are engraved as also a few star names and constellations

An unknown, undated Astrolabe[36]

It is a brass sphere mounted on a stand The stand is provided with rings, one horizontal and the other vertical within which the sphere just fits and is capable of rotating in any direction The dia of the sphere is 16 2 cm, the inner and the outer diameters of the horizontal ring are 16 3 cm and 18 7 cm respectively Both the rings are graduated The vertical ring can be fixed in any position with respect to the horizontal one by means of two pins The sphere is engraved with ecliptic and equator circles The ecliptic is engraved with zodiacal signs, each sign being subdivided into 30 deg-

rees and marked at the interval of 5 degrees The equator is also graduated Constellation figures are engraved

An unknown, undated Astrolabe [17]

It is a Brass astrolabe consisting of the 'mother' or mater (*umm*), the spider ('*ankabūt*), five discs (*ṣafīha*), and inscribed in Arabic (*Naskhi*) characters The dioptre (*al-idāde*) is missing The diameter of the 'mother' is 24.1 cm the length of the *kursi* and *halqa*, taken together, is 7.2 cm The '*ankabūt* and the discs have a diameter of 22 cm each The rim of the mother is divided into four quadrants, each being graduated into 90 degrees and marked at the intervals of 3° The ventor is divided into three annular zones, each zone containing three annular concentric rings engraved with the names of places and their geographical latitudes and longitudes The back (zahar) has a graduated scale at the rim in the four quadrants, the uppper two being similar and divided into 90° at intervals of 3° The two lower scales are for measuring shadows and graduated from 1 to 60 feet or digits The left upper quadrant contains the graphic sine table and the right the declination circles The lower quadrants contains the names of 12 zodiacs, 28 lunar mansions, shadow scales and astrological tablets and decans with their lords Of the five discs, one contains the projections of horizons and the measures on the '*ankabut*, and the others are engraved with *almucantarāts* for different latitudes The astrolabe is of the class of *tamm* (complete) as 90 *almucantarats* are engraved and marked at the intervals of 2 degrees The duration of the longest day corresponding to the latitude is inscribed on the discs

An unknown, undated Astrolabe (13th century A D) [38]

The astrolabe is made of brass and is engraved in *Kūfic* characters It consists of the mother or mater (*umm*), the spider ('*ankabut*), and the dioptre (*al-idade*) The diameter of the mother is 14 3 cm, and with the *kursi* and *halqa*, 18 4 cm The spider's dia is 12 6 cm The *al-idade* is 12 9 cm in length All the parts are fixed in the mother with a pin The ventor of the mother is engraved with a projection of the celestial sphere and its rim is graduated in degrees in groups of five upto 360 The back (*zahar*), divided into four quadrants, the upper two engraved with Zarqali projections and the lower left with a graphic sine table and the edge of the lower right with a shadow scale The '*ankabut* has 29 *shazaya* or indicators with 29 star names engraved From the star catalogue and the precession of the equinoxes on it Kaye determined the age of the astrolabe to be around A D 1308 or A D 1287, that is c 13th century A D

An unknown, undated Astrolabe (c 17th century A D) [39]

It is a brass astrolabe engraved in *Devanagari* characters It consists of the mother, 17 2 cm in dia and 29 2 cm including the suspension system, the spider, 15 9 cm. in dia and two plates, each 15 9 cm in diameter The dioptre is 15 5 cm in length The spider contains the usual ecliptic circle with 12 divisions of the zodiac engraved with their Sanskrit names e g , *Mesa* (Aries), *Vrsa* (Taurus), *Mithuna* (Gemini), *Karkata* (Cancer), *Simha* (Leo), etc The spider has 25 indicators, most of which are engraved with star names in *Devanagari* e g *Citrā* (Spica), *Svāti* (Arcturus), *Visākhā* (Libra), *Abhijit* (Vega), *Sravana* (Altair), *Purva Bhādrapāda* (Pegasi), *Rohini* (Aldebaran) etc etc The ventor of the mother is blank, but the back divided into four quadrants contains the graphic table of sines (upper left), declination circles (upper right) and the shadow scales (two lower quadrants) The two plates contain projections of altitutes (*almucantarats*), temporal hour lines and latitudes with their corresponding longest days (*paramadina*) in *ghatis* and *palas* and the lengths of *chava* (shadow) and *karna* (hypotenuse) One face of one of the two tablets contains the projections of horizons After the concession of the time units into hours and minutes, the longest day for the latitude of Ujjain, 22° is 13 hr 24 min and that of Ahmedabad, 23° is 13 hr and 32 min

Muhammad Muqim ibn Mullah 'Isab ibn al Haddad usturlabi Lahori Humayuni s Astrolabe (A H 1034, A D 1625) [40]

It is a brass astrolabe (plane) inscribed in Arabic (*Naskhi*) characters It consists of the mother or mater, dia 11 4 cm and 16 6 cm including the *kursi* and the *halqa*, the spider (*'ankabut*), dia 12 2 cm five tablets (*sufa ih*), dia 12 2 each and the dioptre (*al Idade*), 10 cm in length. The rim of the mother is graduated into 360 degrees marked at the intervals of 6 degrees, i e 6, 12, 18 etc in abjad notations The ventor is marked into two groups of three annular rings further divided into a number of annular spaces but radial lines Each space is inscribed with the names of some important places and their latitudes and longitudes The back (*zahar*) is divided into four quadrants The rim of the two upper quadrants is graduated into 90 degrees from the horizontal line to the vertical and marked at the intervals of 6 degrees The upper left is engraved with horizontal lines from the vertical line to the rim and serves the purpose of the sine table The upper right contains the declination circles The two lower quadrants are engraved with the shadow scales in feet and digits, the names of twelve zodiacal signs and twenty-eight lunar mansions (manzil) The name of the maker and date are inscribed within the rectangular space

in the centre of the lower quadrants 33 stars names are engraved on the indicators of the spider, in addition to the names of the zodiacal signs on the ecliptic circle The tablet of horizons (*safihah al-afaquiyah*) and the measures on the *'ankabūt* (*safihah mīzān al--ankabūt*) are engraved, one on each side of a tablet Other tablets contain projections of parallels of altitudes (*almucantarāts*) for altitudes 12, 18, 22, 24, 27 and 29 degrees as also the tropics, the equator, temporal hour lines, the longest day measures for the latitude etc The *almucantarats* are drawn at intervals of 6 degrees, that is, the astrolabe is *sudsi* in nature

Table 1 Longitudes and Latitudes of a few selected Places from Muhammad Maqims Astrolabe (No 40 420)

Place (al bilād)	Longitude (al tul) 0		Latitude (al arud) 0		Place (al bilad 0	Longitude (al tul) 0		Latitude (al arud) 0	
Misar	63	20	33	20	Samarqand	99	30	39	37
Medina	75	20	25	0	Mashghar	106	30	44	0
Mecca	76	10*	21	40	Khotan	107	0	42	0
Damashq	70	0	33	15	Ghaznah	107	20	33	35
Halb (Aleppo)	72	10	35	50	Kâbul	104	40	34	30
Maraghah	82	0	36	20	Qandhar	107	40	33	0
Tebriz	82	0	38	0	Multân	107	35	25	40
Kufa	70	30	31	30	Lahaur (Lahore)	109	20	31	50
Baghdad	80	0	33	25	Qanauj	115	50	26	35
Busrah	84	0	30	11	Banarasī	117	20	26	15
Shiraz	88	0	29	36	Kashmir	108	0	35	0
Isfahan	86	40	32	25	Delhī	114	18	28	39
Herat	94	20	34	30	Agrah	114	0	27	43
Marv	97	0	37	40	Jaunpur	119	6	26	36
Balkh	101	0	36	41	Ajmir	112	0	26	0
Bukhara	97	30	39	50	Ahmedabad	108	10	23	15

*This is obviously wrongly engraved, other Muqim astrolabes examined by shri S N Sen give the longitude as 77° 10 in general agreement

Muhammad Muquim ibn 'Isab ibn al-Haddad usturlabi Humayuni Lahori's Astrolabe (A H 1047, A D 1637) [41]

It is a plane astrolabe made of brass and inscribed in Naskhi characters It consists of the mother or mater (*umm*) of dia 20 6 cm the spider (*'ankabut*) of dia 18 9 cm The dioptre (*al-idade*) is 18 7 cm long The rim of the mother is graduated in 360 degrees and is marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The ventor is divided into four annular spaces, each further subdivided into three rings Within these rings are engraved the places names and their latitudes and longitudes The back (*zahar*) is divided into four quadrants The rim of the upper two quadrants each is divided into 90 degrees from the horizontal to the vertical line and marked at the intervals of 5 degrees The upper left is for the sine table and the upper right is engraved with declination circles The two lower quadrants contain graduations at the rim and a recatngular scale for measuring shadows in feet (*zill-i-aqdam*), and shadows in digits (*zill i-asabi'a*)

Within the rectangular scale are engraved six semi-circular rings containing the names of 28 lunar mansions, 12 signs of the zodiac and table of Hudud with their decans and Lords. The *'ankabut* is engraved with 37 star names in addition to the ecliptic with the names of the 12 zodiacal signs. Of the five discs, one is engraved on one side with the projections of the horizons and the other side with the measures on the *'ankabut* to enable determination of the longitudes and latitudes of the *'ankabut* stars. The remaining four tablets are engraved with a *almucantarats* at intervals of two degrees (*nisfi*) for different latitudes, the two tropics, the equator, the temporal lines and the extent of the longest day in hours and minutes for the corresponding latitudes The workmanship is excellent.

Table II. Stars in the Rate of one of Muqim's Astrolabe (Regd. No 40, 421).

Transliteration (Name of the star on the Astrolabe)	Modern name	On the Astrolabe Long ° '	On the Astrolabe Lat ° '	Ulugh Beg's values Long ° '	Ulugh Beg's values Lat ° '	Long diff ° '
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sadar qitus	80 Ceti	29 — 26	26	43 — 28	51	2 17
Khadib	11 Cassio	32 51	28	1 50	48	3 59
fum qitus	peae	34 — 12	32	10 — 12	18	1 50
tāli musāfa an nahar	34 Eridani	50 33	46	40 — 33	35	3 20
ghūl	26 Persei Algol	52 21	48	55 22	0	3 05
dabaran	87 Tauri Aldebaran	65 — 6	62	31 — 5	15	2 29
riji jauza isri	19 Orionis Rigel	71 — 32	69	25 — 31	18	1 35
yad īsrī	Orionis	77 — 17	73	34 — 17	15	3 26
aiyūq	13 Aurigae Capella	78 22	74	43 22	42	3 17
riji yumnī	53 Orionis	80 — 33	78	40 — 33	21	1 20
yad yumnī	Betelgeux	82 — 17	81	13 — 16	43	0 47
abūr	9 Canis Majoris, Sirius	99 — 40	96	19 — 39	30	2 41
fard shuja	31 Hydrae	142 — 23	139	31 — 22	30	2 20
zahar asad	68 Leonis	157 — 14	153	29 — 14	9	3 82
Janah ghurāb	4 Corvi	185 — 14	182	46 — 14	18	2 14
qa'da batih		168 — 21	165	0 — 22	42	2 05
Simāk ramih	[illegible] Boötis Arcturus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Simāk cazal	67 Virginis spica	109 — 2	106	10 — 2	0	2 50
miza fakkah (munir)	5 Cor Borealis, 210 Alppecea	216 43	214	34 44	30	1 26
'unq haiya	27 Serpentis	225 26	224	28 26	30	1 32
Wāqi	3 Lurae Vega	282 03	278	10 02	0	3 41
tāir	53 Aquilae Altair	297 20	294	10 20	15	2 50
dhanab aljadi	40 Capricorni	317 — 2	314	13 — 2	30	2 47
fum faras	8 Pegasi	330 22	324	28 22	0	5 32
saqsākib	70 Aquarūl	334 — 8	331	55 — 8	18	2 05
mankib	53 Pegasi	355 29	231	37 30	51	3 23
dhanab qītus	16 Ceti	358 — 21	355	25 — 22	0	2 35

(F) *Astrolabes of the Rampur Raja Library, Rampur*[42]

There are two brass Astrolabes which belonged to the type of astrolabium planispherum or the flat astrolabe type called in Arabic as *Dhatu'l-Safa'ih (consisting of tablets)*

Sarraj s Astrolabe, Dated 615 A D i e, 1204 A D[43]

It was constructed by Sarraj at Dimishq (Damascus) Pandit Pandamaker Dube[43a] holds that "of all the Astrolabes that have been worked out as yet, this is most probably the oldest one"

It is a flat brass astrolabe incribed in Arabic Kuffic characters and numerals Its mater is of 5 4 inches in diameter and 6 mm in thickness *Its mater has a circular raised edge or rim into which fits the ankabut and the tablets This circular edge is graduated in degrees,* which are numbered in groups of 10 upto 100 and similarly further starting from the top or *south point of the instrument and proceed* ing through the west point on the right, the north and east in order the numerals are engraved in Abjad nakshi notation

The total nos of the degrees in a circle is marked by 300 degrees Each group of 10 is also divided into *10 divisions and every 5th* division is numbered five The inner part of the mater is marked by the engravings with a list of cities together with their longitudes and latitudes *It is also marked with stereographical projections of* the horizon, almucantarats or circles of altitude azimuth, temporal or unequal and equal or equinoctial hours circles for the latitudes *of 24° and equator and tropics of Cancer and Capricorn As there* is one *almucantarāts* for every 6° of altitude, the instrument is Sudsī or Sexpartite The (12) twelve unequal or temporal hour lines divide the time into (12) twelve equal portions and these *portions of time* vary in length from 1/12 of the longest day to 1/12 of the shortest Hence they are termed unequal or temporary or planetory hour lines *or circles The back of the astrolabe has the whole of the periphery,* graduated in degrees in groups of 10 upto 90 in each quadrant, starting from the East as well as from the West points to the South and North Below the graduated edge there are three concentric circles, which, having for their centre, the centre of the disc, are graduated in degrees and marked by the names of the lunar *mansions,* the names of the signs of zodiacs, and the name of (12) twelve months The lower part and central rectangle of the instrument consist of Shadow Scales *The Alidade or sighter has near to each* end one fixed sighting piece with one sighting hole and is fixed on the centre pin and revolves round the centre on the back of the Astrolabe It is not divided into any division The ankabut disc

of the astrolabe has an ecliptic circle graduated in degrees, and numbered in groups of six with the signs of zodiacs, standing from the east and proceeding counter-clock-wise It is marked by the (26) twenty six star names The Astrolabe has four tablets each 4 7" in diameter and about 1 mm in thickness and marked by the tropies, equator horizons and longitudes and latitudes of places

Zia-uddin's Astrolabe dated 1074 A H i e, 1663 A D[44]

This astrolabe is of 5 1" inches in diameter and 3" inches in thickness Its body has a circular raised edge or rim which fitted the ankabut and tablets, The tablets are five in number The rim or the circular raised edge is graduated in degrees numbered in groups of 5 upto 360° The venter is inscribed with the names of 77 cities together with their longitude and latitudes The back of the instrument at the upper half of the periphery, is graduated into degrees in the groups of 5 upto 90 The Southeast quadrant consist of a graphic table of Sines The vertical radius is divided into (60) sixty equal parts and the lines parallel to the other radius are drawn to the circumference from each point of the division The Southwest quadrant exhibits some kind of an yearly calender depicting the names of the signs of the zodiac six on the horizontal radius and six on the vertical radii (divisible into 6 equal parts with sub-divisions of 36° each) The division of the Southwest quadrant together with the graduated circumference marks the graphs showing relation between the sun's light ascension and meridian altitudes for latitudes 27°, 29° and 32° The central rectangle consists of a square and circular shadow scales over it It is inscribed that it was constructed by Zia 'uu'ddin's son of Mohammad, son of Mullah Isha, son of Seikh in 1074 A H i e, 1663 A. D The Alidade is fixed on the centre pin Its graduated edge lies on a diameter of the circle Half of its edge is divided into (60) sixty equal divisions, every fifty division being numbered The left upper edge is divided into (6) six equal divisions, corresponding to the division for the signs of zodiac It has also a fixed sighting piece, each having two holes The ankabut of the astrolabe has an ecliptic circles graduated into degrees and numbered in groups of six with the signs of zodiac's, and the names of 44 stars with their latitudes which corresponded very closely to the Ulugh Beg's star catalogue Three star names are quite illegible The Astrolabe has five brass tablets each having 4 6" inches in diameter and 1 mm in thickness They marked latitudes, hours, horizons city names (77 in number) etc An astrolabe by the same maker and date was exhibited at the Persian Art Education held at London in 1931 and reported in its catalogue

(G) *'Astrolabes in the Library of Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur,*[45] *Hyderabad·*

Two Astrolabes has been reported by Nadavi, one belonged to Master Allah-Dad, the astrolabe maker of Lahore, dated 975 A H and the other one was constructed by Ziauddin Muhammad and dated 1064 A H The details of these two instruments are now not yet available

(H) *An Astrolabes of the Oriental Library, Bankipur,*[46] *Patna*

It is reported by Nadvi It is very big in size and dated 1074 A.H It bears the following legend "The work of the humblest creature Zia'uddin Muhammad, son of Qaim Mohammad, son of Mulla 'Isa, son of Sheyakh Allah-Dad, Astrolabi, Hūmāyunī, Lahori, dated 1074 A H "

Nadvi holds that this astrolabe belonged to an instrument maker of Lahore Genealogically, Ziaudd dins' grandfather was Mulla 'Isa whose father was shekyh Allah Dad It is held that the instrument maker must have flourished in the reign of Humayun The details of this astrolabe are not yet available

(I) *Astrolabes in Nadwatul Ulama Library, Lucknow* [47]

Nadvi[48] reported that an Astrolabe of dated 1059 A H by Ziauddin Muhammad has been preserved in the Nadwatul Ulma Library, Lucknow The legend runs as follows "The work of Ziauddin Muhammad, son of Quim Muhammad, son of Mulla' Isa, son of Sheykh Allah-Dad Hūmayunī Astrolabi, Lahori, 1059 A H" It was Humayun who designed an Humayuni Astrolabe which were then vogue in India and later on named after him According to Nadvi,[49] these Astrolabe are known as "Humayun's Astrolabe" The two broken Astrolabes of the high quality made of brass are also preserved in the Museum [49a]

(J) *Astrolabes in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi* [50]

1 *Mohd Mehudi Asphahani's Astrolabe, A H 1071, A D 1660* [51]

It is dedicated to Mohd Badi, son of Khusru Sultan son of Nasar Mohhammad Khan, ruler of Balkh

2 *An unnamed, undated Astrolabe* [52]

It is supposed to have been manufactured in the late 18th or early 19th centuries It has 17 5 cm height, 13 cm width and it is rectangular in shape It is engraved in Nagari letters having cross bar indicators It listed the

names of stars, etc sign of zodiacs, longitudes and latitudes of the number of places, etc

3 *An unnamed, undated Astrolabes*[53]

It belongs to about late 18th Century Its top plate is missing It is a bronze Astrolabe with no Inscriptions over it except the names of stars etc in Nagari characters It has cross indicators also

(K) *An Astrolabe in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,*[54] *Poona*

An Astrolabe of Samvat 1695 i e, 1830 A D was constructed by Yantra Raj Harnath of Varanasi It is engraved in Devanagari Script with numerals The diameter is 16 cm. On the surface of the Astrolabe there are figures which are in the multiplex of six each such as 6, 12, 18 etc upto 360 On the rotating disc the names of twelve Rāsies (i e zodiacs) are mentioned Inside the Astrolabe, there are ten different plates The names of cities like Varanasi, Gwalior, Delhi, Samarkhand etc with their different longitudinal and latitudinal positions are mentioned in it

(2) *Astrolabes in the Private Collections*[55]

(A) *In the private collection of Qazi Obeid'ul Bari of Calcutta An Astrolabe of Quim Mohammad dated 1034 A H*[56] *i c,*

Nadvi reported that Qazi Obeidul belonged to an old family of Calcutta Professor Nadvi gathered the information relating to an Astrolabe by Qaim Muhammad of dated 1034 A H which belonged to Qazi Obeidul Bari The astrolabe bears the following legend "The work of Qaim Muhammad son of Isa, son of Allah-Dad, Astrolabi, Humayuni, 1034 A H On the other corner of this astrolabe is written the 21st years of Jahangir's succession" The particulars of the instruments are not yet available

In the Private collection of Abu Baker of Aligarah Muslim University[57]

It is reported by Nadvi that an astrolabe of dated 1074 A D is deposited in the Aligarah Muslim University It is constructed by Ziauddin Muhammad, son of Qaim Muhammad, son of Mulla Isa, son of Sheykh Allah-Dad, Astrolabi Humayuni, Lahori The details of this instrument are not yet available

(B) *In the Private Collection of Mr J B Petit, (described by late M P Khareghat) — Astrolabe (A H 1070)*[58]

It is a plane astrolabe made of brass and inscribed in *Naskhi* characters The mother or mater is 12 8 cm in diameter, with a

raised rim graduated into 360 degrees marked at intervals of 5° The ventor contains six concentric circles making two groups of three annular rings each These are engraved with place names and their latitudes and longitudes 57 place names are accommodated *in these rings The two upper quadrants of the back of the astro*labe are graduated at the rim into 90 degrees and marked at the intervals of 5 degrees from the horizontal line to the vertical The upper left is engraved with horizontal lines for use as sine table *The upper right quadrant is engraved with declination circles* The two lower quadrants contain circular scales of shadows, the left one in feet and the right one in digits Proceeding from the rim towards the centre, the circular scale is followed by five circles en*graved with the names of 12 zodiacs, 28 lunar mansions, scale show*ing the division of each zodiac into three equal spaces, 10, 20 and 30, the decans and their lords and the *ardajans* and their lords The centre of the lower half is engraved with rectangular shadow scale in feet and digits and with a table of *Hudud* (limit) which was of significance to astrologers The spider or *'ankabūt* has engraved on its indicators 42 star names i e 20 on the north and 22 on the south of the ecliptic There are four brass tablets, of which one contains the projection of horizons on one side and measures on the *'ankabūt* on the other The three other tablets contains the projections of the altitudes (almucanṭarāts), the two tropics, the equator, the hour circles etc for latitudes of Mecca, 25°, 30°, 32°, 34°, and 37° and the corresponding longest day in hour and minutes The dioptre is 11 35 cm long

The foregoing account reveals the following

1 That brass is the material which is applied in almost all kinds of Astrolabes
2 That there is no uniformity with regard to the diameter of the mater, the diameter of the ankabut and the thickness of the Astrolabes
3 *That these astrolabes marked a distinctive typological uni*formity within themselves
4 That some of the astrolabes are inscribed in the Arabi Kufic or Naṣkhi characters with abjad numerals, while *others are inscribed in the Devanagari Script and numerals*
5 That some of the Astrolabes are dated without makers name, some are undated without makers name, while some others are both dated with the maker's name
6 *That the details of their construction are available in some* cases while only few of them are simply reported by the historians Their details are not yet available

7 That these Astrolabes refers to different longitude and latitude of cities, star names, signs of zodiacs, names of days, weeks and months etc

8 That the astrolabe making in India could be traced out from the advent of Arabs in India and the tradition continued in the preceeding centuries down to the 19th centuries

Few stray notices of astrolabes would also be found in the journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal right from 1839 onwards down to the 1890, but it is a regretting fact that these astrolabes have not been actually been traced out Even as early as in 1839[59] it is reported that Raja Ram Singh of Kota presented an astrolabe to the Government of India and further in 1890,[60] two astrolabes were purchased by M C Narayanratna of Allahabad for the Asiatic Society But unfortunately the traces of these astrolabes are not yet available We have already noticed that the tradition of Astrolabe making developed from Lahore and sprang at the different centres like Jaipur, Varanasi, Kota and Patna Even Punjab too was an important centre The evidence on record shows that the Maharaja of Kapurtala patronized[61] the art of Astrolabe making even as late as in the early 19th centuries Two kinds of his astrolabes — one with a small hand type and an other a pedestal stand type earned the credit for their selection as a rare exhibit which were exhibited in the exhibition of 1864 and reported by Baden Powell in 1872[61]

The systematic study of these astrolabes in a historical perspective would be highly profitable in tracing out the gradual evolution of the technique of Astrolabe making in India right from twelfth century onwards down to the early nineteenth century But the task is not so easy as it amounts to a thorough and minute study of these astrolabes which is very complicated in nature The study of these historical astrolabes would be more meaningful and purposeful to a historian of science if the entire problem can be reviewed from the following angles —

(a) That whether the signatures of the astrolabe makers or any kind of seal engraved on it is actually authentic or not? Is there any room of forgery, duplicating or copying out an astrolabe previously devised?

(b) That did any institution or school of traditional craft of Astrolabe making ever existed in India? If so who were the pioneers? Where those centres were located and what was their actual nature?

(c) That whether the Indian Astrolabes constructed by the same maker differs with their counterparts found in the different parts of Europe Middle East and Islamic Coun-

tries To what extent they differ in constructional features with the contemporary astrolabes found in other parts of world?

(d) That to what extent the information furnished by the astrolabes is authentic?

(e) To what extent the total available informations *from the* historical astrolabes have been corroborated by the contemporary and the anterior sources?

(f) That to what extent the regional variations or the typological *variations in the art of the astrolabes making* can be traced out?

(g) That to what extent Humayun, the Mughal Emperor made contributions in the art of Astrolabe making?

(i) That to what extent the longitudinal and latitudinal positions of the different stars, cities and places, help us in determining their exact Geographical locations? (Table I & II)[6]

The study on the Indian Astrolabes with the aforesaid sets-in objectives has remained, indeed been terra incognito It will, indeed, be an onerous task before the historians to take up this vexing problem with all their earnestness and fill up the vast gaps of knowledge which lie untapped at our disposal in the art of Astrolabe *making in India* Such *studies* would unravel the dim vista of India's highly rich and voluptuous techno-mechanical heritage of the bye-gone days, which the preceeding centuries imbibed and carried on with persistence and innovations even as late as in the mid 19th Century

Acknowledgement

The author is highly grateful to Shri S N Sen, Hon Supervisor, National Commission for the compilation of History of Sciences of India for the constructional details of some of the Astrolabes deposited at the Red Fort Museum, National Museum, Delhi and Indian Museum, Calcutta

ABBREVIATIONS

A G R	American Geographical Review
E B	Encyclopaedia Britanica
E I	Encyclopaedia of Islam.
I C	Islamic Culture
J M S I	Journal of the Madras Geographical Society
M A S I	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
J U P H S	[illegible] Society
A S I (N I S)	[illegible] perial Series
J B B R A S	[illegible] e Royal Asiatic Society
J A	Journal Asiatique
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J A S P (Proc)	Proceedings of the Journal of the Asiatic Society o Bengal.

REFERENCES

1 E B , I, 13th Edn , p 793
2 Smith, D E History of Mathematics, Vol II, Dover, New York, 1958 pp 344-345
2a. Price Derek, J Precision Instruments to 1500 *A History of Technology* ed. Charles Singer et al. III, 1957, 582-619
Neugbauer, O The Early History of Astrolabe *ISIS*, XXXX 240-256, 1949. The first full fledged work on astrolabe is done by Philophonus and Sebokht.
Gunther, R T The Astrolabes of the World, 2 Vols, Oxford, 1932, an English translation by M H. Green is given on p 61-81. A French translation was made by Paul Tannery, with critical notes *Mem Sci* IV, 241-260. For German translation, see Drecker, J 'Des Johannes Philoponos Schrift uber das Astrolabe *ISIS*, XI, 15-44, 1928
Nau, F N Le traite Sur L'astrolabe plan de severe Sabokht *J A* XIII, 238-303, 1899, for English see Gunther The Astrolabes of the World pp 82-103
3 Dickenson, R E and Howarth, O J R making of Geography, Oxford, 1933, p 108
4 Ahmad, N "Muslim Contribution to Astronomical and Mathematical Geography' I C., XVIII, 1944, p 180, see also Sachau's (ed) Al-Beruni India, p 12
5 Sachau, E Al-Beruni India, p 12
6 Sarton, G Introduction to the History of Science, II, p 12
7 Al-Bēruni's Ar Risala fi ṣanát uṣtrulab, MSS No 1481, Asiastic Society of Bengal Collection, Asiatic Society, Calcutta
8 Ahmad, N *Op cit*, p 180
9 Schoy, C Geography of the Muslim and the middle Ages, *A G R* XIV, 1924 see S M Nadvi-Dia-uddin Humayuni uṣṭurlab, *Maárif*, August 1933 see also Ahmad N Muslim contribution to Geography, *J.M G A*, XIV, No IV, 1939
9a. For the general typological features see Nallino *E I*, I
see also Kiely, Edmond, R Surveying Instruments—their history and class-room use, Columbia University, New York 1947, pp 64-86 150-164
10 For the description of the Instruments the information is acknowledged from the kind courtesy of Shri V Govind and Shri S N Sen s work on 'Inventory of Scientific Instruments of Historical Importance in India' (unpublished), *INSA*, 1975, Calcutta
11 Registration No 56, 155/7
12 Registration No 56 155/5
13 Registration No 56, 155/2 (C)
14 Registration No 56 155/3
15 Registration No 56, 155/2 (B)
16 Registration No 55, 155/2 (A)
17 Registration No 56, 98/A
18 Kaye, G R The Astronomical observatory of Jai Singh, *A.S.I* (N I S) XL, Calcutta 1918
19 Registration No Kaye—M.
20 Reg No Kaye—I
21 Reg No Kaye—H
22 Reg No Kaye—G
23 Reg No Kaye—D
24 Reg No Kaye—E
25 Reg No Kaye—B
26 Reg No Kaye—A
27 Information from the kind courtesy of the Director, Indian Museum Calcutta
28 Reg No A 24432
29 Reg No A 24431
30 Kapadia, D D (Ed) M P Kharaghat Memorial Volume, Volume II, Astrolabes, Bombay 1950, see also Rehatsek, E. The Labours of the Arab Astronomers and their Instruments with discription of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Feroz Library *J B B R A.S*, XI 1875 pp 311-330, (9 lithographed diagrams)
32 *Ibid*
33 Kaye, G R Astronomical Instrument in the Delhi Museum *M.A S.I*, XII, 1921, pp 16-19, For the registration number and the other details the information is acknowledged from the kind courtesy of the Director General Archaeology of India New Delhi (See also Bose D M Sen S N and Subbarayappa B V (ed) A Concise Book of History of Science, 1971, Delhi, p 131

34 Reg No 40, 414
35 Reg No 40, 415
36 Reg No 40 413
37 Reg No 40, 412
38 Reg No 40 418
39 Reg No 40 417
40 Reg No 40 420 For table I see also Sen S N The Astrolabe The Scientific *Instrument par Excellence of the Medieval Times Summer School on History* of Science 2 11 Sept Proceedings 1974 INSA New Delhi p 211 (Cyclostyled)
41 Reg *No* 40, 421 *For table II see also Sen S N., op cit p 218 219*
42 Dube Padmakara Astrolabes in the State Library Rampur *J U.P H S* IV Pt *I* Oct. 1923 *pp* 1-11 *Pls* 1-11
43 *Ibid* pp 1 6
43a *Ibid p 1*
44 *Ibid* pp 6 10 see also A Catalogue of Persian Art Exhibition London 1931 p. 193
45 Nadvi S S Some Indian Astrolabe Makers *I C* IX 1935 pp 627-628
46 *Ibid*, pp 630 631
47 *Ibid*, p 628
48 *Ibid*
49 See Nadvi s article in *Al Nadwa* March 1909 p 24
49a Information from the kind courtesy of Mr Salman Shamsi of the Library Nadwatul, Lucknow (Three Astrolabes are deposited there)
50 Information from the kind courtesy of the Hon Director Bharat Kala Bhavan,
51 Acc No 3/5879 See also Padshah Nama of Mulla Abdul Hamid Lahori 1065 A H Vol II p 165 Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868 see also *E B* I 11th edn (facing plate)
52 Acc No 3/9490
53 Acc No 2/5133
54 Information from the kind courtesy of Dr G K Bhat, Curator Bhandarkar Oriental Research *Institute Poona See also Kapadia D D op cit*
55 Nadavi S S Some Indian Astrolabe Makers *I C* IX, 1935 p 627
56 *Ibid* p 628
57 Kapadia D D *Op cit*
58 *JASB* XI p 759 777 1841
JASB VIII p 831 838 1839
JASB Proceeding pp 148 149 1890
59 *JASB* VIII p 831-883 1839
60 *JASB* Proc p 148 149 1890
61 Powell Baden Manufacture and Arts of Punjab Vol II pp 259 263 Punjab Printing Co 1872

A DISCUSSION OF THE EARLY NYĀYA-VAIŚESIKAS ON THE NATURE OF ĪŚVARA

By

GEORGE CHEMPARATHY

The acceptance of Īśvara into the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system brought with it the necessity of determining what he really was Since every reality was classified under one or the other of the categories and their sub-divisions admitted by the system, it was necessary to determine precisely the class of reality under which Īśvara had to be grouped In the early period of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism there seems to have been a difference of opinion as to the class of beings under which Īsvara was to be grouped, though the discussion on this point was, as the texts of the later authors of the system show, only of transitory importance in the general development of its theism

The materials at our disposal on this discussion are very meagre, consisting of a few short passages, some of them apparently incidental, found in some Nyāya-Vaiseṣika works as well as in the Buddhist work Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā [1]

The earliest text wherein we are made aware of the problem in question is the Nyayabhāṣyam of Pakṣilasvāmin (probably in the first half of the fifth century A D) After commenting on the Nyāyasūtras IV, 1, 19 21 dealing with Isvara as the cause of the universe, Pakṣilasvamin gives us an excursus, rich in content though short, on the nature and qualities of Isvara "The Īsvara is another soul (ātmāntaram)', observes he, "characterized by [special] qualities It is not possible that he is of the nature of anything other than the nature of the soul Isvara is another soul characterized by the absence of demerit, erroneous cognition [and]

1 The editions of these works used for this article are the following —
Nyāyabhaṣyam [abbr NBh.] and Nyayavarttikam [abbr NV] Nyayadarsanam With Vatsyayana s Bhaṣya Uddyotakara s Varttika crit ed with notes by Amarendramohan Tarkaturtha and Hemantakumar Tarkaturtha Vol II (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No XXIX), Calcutta 1944
Nyayamanjarī [abbr NM] The Nyayamanjarī of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa ed by Pt Surya Narayana Sukla (Kashi Sanskrit Series No 106), Benares 1936
Nyayakandali [abbr NKand] Prasastapadabhaṣya with commentary Nyayakandali of Śridharabhaṭṭa (Ganganatha-Jha-Granthamala Vol. 1), Varanasi 1963
Tattvasamgrahapanjika [abbr TSP] Tattvasangraha of Acarya Shantarakṣita with the commentary Panjika of Shri Kamalashila crit ed by Swami Dwarikadas Shastri Vol I (Bauddha Bharati Series—1), Varanasi 1968

inattention as well as by the abundance of merit, [true] cognition [and] concentration[2] After speaking of the eightfold omnipotence (*aṣṭavidham aiśvaryam*) and merit (*dharmah*) of Īsvara and point ing out that Īsvara is like a father towards his creatures, Pakṣila svāmin continues "And it is not possible that [Īsvara] is of a nature other than that of the nature of the soul Indeed there is in him no attribute at all other than cognition that can be brought forward as [his] characteristic mark Who will be able to establish Īsvara who is beyond the objects of perception, inference and verbal testimony, were he indescribable through the characteristic marks of the soul such as cognition?"[3]

This passage shows that, according to Pakṣilasvamin, Īsvara belongs to the class of soul (*atma*) which is one of the nine classes of substances (*dravyam*) admitted by the system This does not mean however that Īsvara is like the other (namely, the ordinary) souls, for while the ordinary souls possess the qualities of demerit, erroneous cognition and inattention Īsvara is characterized not only by the absence of these qualities but by the possession of an abundance of the qualities opposed to them In spite of this difference of Īśvara from the ordinary souls he is not to be considered as belonging to any other class of beings than that of the soul *na cā'tmakalpād anyah kalpah sambhavati* For the only quality that can be said to be his characteristic mark is his cognition which is a quality proper only to the soul

What specially strikes us in the short excursus of Pakṣila svamin is the fact that, after having stated at the beginning that Īsvara is another soul (*atmāntaram*)[4] and that his nature cannot be any other than that of the soul, he repeats the same idea towards the end of his excursus as though to exclude with all emphasis the possibility of Isvara being grouped under a class other than the class of souls with the words *na ca tma kalpad anyah kalpah sambha vati* Such a repetition of statement made in the given context leads one to suppose that the view that Isvara was another soul was *not accepted by all and that there was at least another view* regarding the nature of Īsvara What this view was or who followed it is not clear to us from the passage of Pakṣilasvāmin himself But the Nyayavārttikam of Uddyotakara (written about 650 A D) which is

2 NBh 943 ... *tasya atmakalpāt kalpāntaranupapa* ... *dharmajnanasamadhisampada ca* ...

3 Ibid 944 ... *sambhavati na tāvad asya buddhim* ... *upapadayitum buddhyadibhiś cat* ... *jakṣānumānagamavisayātitam kah sakt* ...

4 When it is said that Īsvara is *ātmantaram* what is meant is that Īsvara belongs to the same class as other souls even though he possesses some special quali ties

the next work of the Nyāya-school that has come down to us affords us the material to infer what this other view was

In the course of his excursus on Īsvara, Uddyotakara speaks also of the nature of Īsvara

'Since his nature has not been accurately determined, there is doubt whether Īsvara is a substance or one of the other categories such as (lit 'beginning with') quality [We say Īsvara is] a substance, because he possesses the quality of cognition, like other substances If [he is a substance] because of his possessing cognition, is he then another soul (*ātmāntaram*)? [We answer He is] not another soul because of the difference of qualities For just as earth etc are not souls (i e are different from souls) on account of the difference of their qualities, in the same manner is Īsvara possessed of qualities that are different [from those of other souls], consequently he too is not another soul What then is his difference [from other souls]? Some indeed say that there is in him excellence of merit, cognition, dispassionateness and omnipotence [With the word] 'excellence (*atiśayah*) [is meant] eternity We however, do not recognize this, [for] though there is proof for Īśvara's being possessed of cognition, there is not likewise a proof for the eternity of merit etc [in him] And what is without proof cannot be accepted But the excellence [of Īṣvara consists in] the eternity of cognition, [and this is] the difference of quality [on account of which he is not another soul] For in him are eternal cognition and the [five] generic qualities beginning with number Īsvara has fix qualities, like ether'[5]

In this passage we have the problem of the nature of Īśvara posed very clearly Uddyotakara argues, first of all, that, of the six categories of reality—as far as we know, the seventh category called *abhāvah* was not explicitly mentioned at this time as a distinct category—Īsvara could be classed only under the category of substance (*dravyam*), for he possesses the quality of cognition which, in as far as it is a quality, can belong only to a substance, and not to any other of the categories The more important problem, however, was whether he could be classed among the substances that were accepted by the system A glance at the list of the nine kinds of substances admitted by the system shows that, if Īsvara were to be classed under any of them it could only be under the class of soul (*atma*), for soul alone, among the substances possesses the quality of cognition Uddyotakara, however, denies that Īsvara is another soul The statement that Īsvara is not another soul (*na ātmāntaram*) can be understood in two senses either that Īsvara, though

5 Cf NV 951, 2 9

belonging to the class of soul, is not like the other (namely, ordinary) souls, or that he does not at all belong to the class of souls If Uddyotakara understands it in the first sense, he does not disagree with his precursor Pakṣilasvāmin If, on the contrary, he takes it in the second sense, he follows a view quite different from that of the Bhāṣyakāra

A study of the passage of Uddyotakara makes it clear that he does not follow the view of the author of the Nyāyabhāṣyam For while Pakṣilasvāmin states clearly that Īśvara is another soul (ātmāntaram) characterized by special qualities, Uddyotakara explicitly denies that he is another soul (*na ātmāntaram*) [6] That the difference of Īśvara from the other souls as understood by the author of the Nyāyavārttikam is of a far higher degree than that as understood by his precursor is clear especially from his explanation why Īśvara is not another soul He observes that, just as earth etc [7] differ from souls through the difference of their qualities, so also Īśvara must be different from the other souls on account of the fact that he is endowed with qualities different from theirs This comparison leaves no doubt that, in the opinion of the author, Īsvara could not belong to the same class as the souls For earth fire, water etc differ from each other and from souls through the difference of their qualities and form different classes of substances In the same way, Isvara must be conceived as different from the souls and as another kind of substance on account of the difference of his qualities from those of the souls Even though Uddyotakara himself does not explicitly speak of Iśvara as "another substance' (*dravyantaram*), his explanation of the difference of Isvara from the other souls logically leads to such a conclusion

Uddyotakara further discusses what difference it is that makes Īśvara different from the ordinary souls He rejects the view of those who maintain that this difference consists in Iśvara possessing eternal merit, cognition, dispassionateness and omnipotence,[8] for though there is proof for Īsvara s possessing cognition, there is no proof that he possesses merit etc In the view of Uddyotakara Īśvara possesses only six qualities the five generic qualities of number, dimension individuality, conjunction and disjunction as well

6 Ibid 951 3 *nātmāntaram guṇabhedāt*

7 With 'earth etc' are meant the eight substances other than soul namely earth water, fire wind ether, time space and Manas

8 In all probability Uddyotakara here rejects the views of Pakṣilasvāmin who had remarked *dharmajñānasamādhisampadā ca viśiṣṭam ātmāntaram īśvaraḥ* The substitution of the terms *vairāgyam* and *aiśvaryam* by *samādhiḥ* need not hinder us from ascribing this view to Pakṣilasvāmin especially since he admits Īśvara *aṣṭavidham aiśvaryam* (NBh 944 2)

as the specific quality of cognition[9] No doubt the fact that Īśvara does not possess the qualities of merit (*dharmah*) and demerit (*adharmah*) marks him off from the other souls For due to the absence of these two qualities he is absolutely free from the law of Karma that determines the mode of existence of the ordinary souls As Uddyotakara himself later on remarks, Īśvara is neither 'bound' (*baddha*) to Saṃsāra nor 'liberated' (*mukta*) from it,[10] but the other souls inevitably belong to either of these two groups Nevertheless in his view what distinguishes and differentiates Īśvara from the other souls is not the absence of merit and demerit in him, but the eternal nature of his cognition He proves the eternity of Īśvara's cognition from the fact that it is not determined or limited to any individual object and that Īśvara cognizes at the same time several things, as is proved by the origination of several things simultaneously Moreover, the cognition of Īsvara comprises objects that are past, future and present, and has the nature of direct perception, not of inference or of verbal testimony In short, his cognition is eternal, all-embracing and one The cognition of the ordinary souls, on the other hand, is produced, limited to particular objects and successive or many Thus the special characteristics of his cognition, all of which flow from its eternal nature, make Īsvara different from the ordinary souls

It is in the Nyāyavārttikam that we come across for the first time the idea that Īsvara does not belong to the class of soul, but is a different substance It is, however, not improbable that it had been proposed even before Uddyotakara As we suggested earlier, it may have been current even at the time of Paksilasvāmin, and Uddyotakara may have merely taken sides with a view that was already existing We do not know the name of any other Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika author, either before or after Uddyotakara, who held such a theory There are, however, references in the later philosophical literature to the two different views on the nature of Īsvara

For example, Kamalasila, the Buddhist commentator who lived in the second half of the eighth century A D , while introducing the discussion of the Isvara doctrine of the Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas, writes as follows "Some [Naiyāyikas etc maintain] that the omniscient Īsvara, the creator of the entire universe is only another soul characterized by [special] qualities Others, [on the other hand, say] that, on account of his being possessed of different qualities, he is indeed another substance, distinct from the souls, endowed as he is

9 In NV 952 13-14, however Uddyotakara also recognizes *icchā* in Īsvara Similarly we see him ascribing also *aiśvaryam* to Īsvara in NV 950, 17 It is diffi- [illegible] ...se two qualities in Īsvara and yet [illegible] the qualities of Īsvara A probable [illegible] he considered these two qualities [illegible] ...vara

10 Cf NV 952, 15-16.

with a cognition that is eternal, one and having all things for its object "[11]

A comparison of the two views mentioned by Kamalaśīla with those we have come across in the Nyāyabhāṣyam and the Nyāyavārttikam shows that the Buddhist commentator here refers to the views respectively of Pakṣilasvāmin and Uddyotakara *Interesting* to note is also the striking resemblance of ideas and even of terms found in the second view with those found in the *Nyāyavārttikam*,[12] a fact which confirms our supposition that Kamalaśīla there refers to the view maintained by *Uddyotakara Moreover, while the* author of the Nyāyavārttikam did not explicitly declare Iśvara to be "another substance" (*dravyāntaram*), *we have in the passage of* Kamalaśīla this term applied to Īśvara and connected with the view which, *we believe, was the view held by Uddyotakara*

Also in the works of Nyaya-Vaiśesika authors we have hints or references which suggest that there was difference of opinions regarding the nature of Iśvara Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of the Nyā yamañjarī, (about the second *half of the* ninth century *A D*), concludes his brief discussion on the qualities of Iśvara as follows 'Thus five of the *nine qualities of the soul, [namely] cognition, pleasure*, desire, effort [and] merit are [found] in Iśvara, on the other *hand, four [qualities of the* soul, namely] pain aversion, demerit [and] impressions are not [found in him], and hence Iśvara is only a *special* soul, not another substance "[13] In this passage the author points out in very clear terms how he conceives of Isvara's nature Iśvara is not like the ordinary souls, and yet he does not belong to a class different from the class of souls, he is rather a special soul (*atmavisesah*) He further clearly denies that Īsvara is another substance (*na dravyantaram*) When we keep in mind that Jayanta often refers to the views of the ancient thinkers of the school,[14] we can conclude that, in refuting the view that Isvara is another sub-

11 TSP 51 17-20 *tatra visistagunam atmāntaram eva sarvasya jagatah kartaram sarvajnam Īsvaram iti kecit. atmavyatiriktam nityaikasarvarthavisayabuddh gupetataya bhinnagunatvad atmavyāntaram ity apare* The term *kartṛ* (TSP 51 18) though found in the two available editions of the work does not seem to me correct I suggest the reading *jagatah kartaram sarvajnam*

12 [illegible] of TSP 51 18 19 corres- [illegible] Similarly the term *nityai-* [illegible] ugh not as one word in [illegible] Thus *nityabuddhih* can be [illegible] NV 951 7 8 952 11-12) [illegible] 952 *9 10 sa ca buddhih* [illegible] is said that Īsvara s cog-

13 [illegible] *h panca jnanasukheccha-prayatnadharmah santisvare catvaras tu duhkhadvesadharmasamskarā na santity ātmaviseṣa eveśvaro na dravyantaram.*

14 Brahmananda Gupta has shown this with regard to the doctrine of perception according to the NM in his excellent study Die Wahrnehmungslehre in der Nyayamanjari Bonn 1962 See especially pp 24 25 94ff

stance, he had in mind either Uddyotakara himself or those who followed the same views as his, since no Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinker of his time is known to have held such a view

We would like to mention here one more author who in all probability refers to the same discussion on the nature of Īsvara Commenting on the passage in the Padārthadharmasaṃgraha wherein Prasastapāda says that there are only nine substances, Śrīdhara, the author of the Nyāyakandalī, (about the second half of the tenth century A D), explains that there are only nine substances since the omniscient great sage—meant is the Vaisesikasūtrakāra—who was intent on instructing men in all things did not mention any substance other than the nine mentioned,[15] and that the word 'only' (*eva*) in the expression 'only nine substances' (*dravyāṇi navaiveti*) used by Prasastapāda[16] is not without a purpose, since it excludes any doubt whether there are any substances other than the nine mentioned After refuting the view of some who maintain that darkness (*tamas*) is another substance (*dravyantaram*),[17] Śrīdhara remarks "Isvara too is only a soul [i e belongs only to the class of 'soul'] since he possesses the quality of cognition but the subject of six qualities [i e Īsvara] does not differ from the subject of fourteen qualities [i e ordinary souls] through difference of qualities, [as some have maintained,] since [otherwise there would be a] deviation in the case of the liberated souls "[18]

As I have pointed out elsewhere,[19] the first part of the above statement, namely that Īsvara is only a soul, is the view of Śrīdhara himself, while the second part contains a view that he wants to reject A comparison of this second part of the statement with the view we found in the Nyayavārttikam shows that they agree in content Moreover it is important to take into account the context in which the statement is made Discussing how many substances there are according to the Vaiśeṣika system Śrīdhara states, following the orthodox view of the school, that there are only nine substances After refuting the view that darkness (*tamas*) is an additional substance, he adds that Īśvara too is only a soul He intends thereby to exclude a view according to which Īsvara was another substance, in fact a tenth substance This circumstance combined with the fact that the view he rejects is found to correspond with the view we met with in the passage of the Nyāyavārttikam leads

15 Cf Vaiseṣikasutra I 1 4
16 Cf NKand 20 4
17 Ibid 21 11 — 26 12
18 Ibid 26, 13-14 *isvaro pi buddhigunatvād ātmaiva na tu saḍguṇādhikaraṇas caturdasaguṇādhikaraṇād guṇabhedena bhidyate muktatmabhir vyabhicarat.*
19 Cf my article The Number of Qualities (guna) in Īsvara according to Śrīdhara A Reconsideration in The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Vol XXVII, Jan April 1171 Parts I-2, pp 12 15

us to conclude that he refers here to the view of Uddyotakara (and others who held a similar view) To strengthen his argument that Īśvara and ordinary souls cannot be said to belong to different classes of substances on account of difference of qualities, he further points out that the liberated souls no more possess the specific qualities like the ordinary souls in Saṃsāra, and yet they are considered to belong to the class of souls

The passages we *have studied hitherto have shown that there* were two different views concerning the nature of Īśvara, one hold-*ing that* Īśvara belongs to the class of souls, the other maintaining that he is a substance forming a class by himself, a substance *sui generis* However, the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theism shows that the second view did not find a wide acceptance and was soon given up The references to it made by Kamalaśīla, Jayanta and Śrīdhara probably point more to an old view that had already been abandonned than to one that continued to be held during their own days, for otherwise we would have found more traces of this theory in the available literature of the school than is really the case It is not *difficult to see why the view of Īśvara as another substance* did not find a wider circulation and was short lived, for the postulation of a tenth substance would have gone against one of the fundamental doctrines of the system and any unorthodox view was sure to meet with strong opposition and eventual rejection[20] The Nyāya-Vaisesika authors, on the whole, maintained the first view that Īsvara was to be grouped under the class of substances called soul (*ātmā*), though a certain distinction was made between him and the ordinary souls Bhāsarvajña, for instance, conceived of souls as *of two kinds an inferior (apara) kind comprising the ordinary souls* and the superior (*para*) soul which is none other than Īśvara himself[21] In ths same way, Udayana speaks of souls as of two kinds those which are not Isvara (*anīśvara*), namely the ordinary souls, and that which is Īsvara[22] In distinguishing the souls in this manner these authors brought Īsvara *under the class of soul without* making him a separate substance and yet safeguarding his distinction *from the* ordinary souls

Though the view that Isvara is a substance *sui generis* was only a short episode in the history of Nyaya Vaiseṣika theism, it shows us that the accommodation of Īsvara to a system that was originally non-theistic did not take place *without difficulties*

20 We may here recall that a Vaisesika author Candramati (about the fifth century A D) proposed an unorthodox theory of ten *padartha-s* which too [illegible] abandoned

21 [illegible] by Swami Yogindrananda (Ṣaḍdar- [illegible] 968 p 446 5 417 3

22 [illegible] by Sasinatha Jha (Mithila Institute [illegible] 1963 p 14 13 16

SOME HINDU SELF-UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE VEDAS AS *ŚRUTI*, *APAURUṢEYA* AND *NITYA*

By

ARVIND SHARMA

I

The Hindu religious tradition gives to its sacred scriptures, the Vedas, the characteristic appellations of *śruti*, *nitya* and *apauruṣeya* The manner in which these appellations have been understood, however, seems to have varied It is the purpose of this paper to detect these shifts in the senses in which the appellations have been understood by the Mīmāmsakas, by Sayana (14th century A D), and by two modern scholars of Hinduism, Surendranath Dasgupta and T M P Mahadevan

II

For the Mimamsakas the triad of appellations constitutes a closed system The Vedas are *nitya* because they are *apauruṣeya* they are eternal because they are work of neither man nor God They are not the work of God because the system of *purva mimāmsā* is atheistic And the Vedas are not the work of any man because as Śabara Svamin argues

> unless a sect becomes extinct we always remember the author and the user of the technical terms current in the usages of that sect This is the general rule It is now clear that had the Vedas been created by any man and the rites depending on them been first performed by him then we should always have remembered the author But our actual experience is quite contrary to this We do not know of any author or originator of the Vedic rites and ceremonies, yet we have been performing them continually from the beginning Hence it cannot be established by any direct proof that someone conceived the relationship between Vedic words and their meanings and introduced the Vedic rites of his own free will and thus was the creator of the Vedas [1]

---

1 Haridas Bhattacharya ed., *The Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. IV (Calcutta The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture 1953) p 153

It might be argued that though authorless, yet the Vedas cannot be eternal because of the cyclical notion of time in Hinduism, as Udayana argued in his Nyāyakusumāñjali[2] But this objection overlooks the fact that for the Mīmāmsakas "at no time was the world otherwise than it is now" (*na kadācit anīdṛśam jagat*)[3] The doctrine of creation and dissolution is not acknowledged by the Mīmāmsakas, the "doctrine of creation and dissolution which is recognized by all other Hindu systems could not be acknowledged by Mimāmsā as it would have endangered the eternality of the Vedas Even God had to be dispensed with on this account"[4]

It is also clear then that the *sruti*, according to the Mīmāmsakas, could only mean, when applied to the Vedas, in the light of Jaimini Sūtras I 1 27-32 "the traditional method of studying" the Vedas "which is getting them by heart" "by *hearing* them recited, by the preceptor",[5] as the word *śruti* can apply to anything heard.[6]

Thus for the Mīmāmsakas the Vedas are *nitya* because the world exists eternally and the tradition of Vedic studies has proceeded uninterrupted from time immemorial, they are *apauruṣeya* because no original author of the Vedas is identifiable, and they are *śruti* because the Vedas are transmitted orally

III

Sāyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas, was an *advaita-vedantin*[7] like his brother,[8] and subscribed to the doctrine of Brahman and *sṛṣṭi* and *pralaya* Thus according to Sāyana, "Absence of human composition constitutes the *apauruṣeyatā* of a book, and as Brahman and not any human being is the cause of the Veda, it is *apauruṣeya*"[9]

> But 'Brahman is the cause of everything' so the eternity of the Veda has to be so understood as not to contradict it According to the cosmogony of Advaita Vedānta, at the beginning of creation God first conceives (*ākalayya*) the world as it was previously, then wills 'I shall do this', and then from that 'will' of God are produced the five subtle elements of ether, air, fire,

2 Ibid, p 154
3 T M P Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* (Bombay Chetana Ltd 1960) p 138
4 Surendranath Dasgupta *A History of Indian Philosophy* Vol I (Cambridge University Press 1957) p 404
5 Haridas Bhattacharyya, ed *op cit*, Vol I, p 182
6 See Panini III iii 94
7 K. Satchidananda Murty *Revelation and Reason in Advaita Vedanta* (New York Columbia University Press 1959)
8 See E B Cowell and A E Gough, trs *The Sarva darsana-samgraha by Madhava Acharya* (Varanasi Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Vol X, 1961)
9 K. Satchidananda Murty, *op cit*, p 49

water and earth in that order Dissolution proceeds in the reverse order, the ether merging at the end Thus while all other things are produced and destroyed in between creation and before final dissolution, generation of ether in its subtle aspect (*tanmātra*) inaugurates creation and its dissolution completes the cessation of the world So it is prior to all things and the last of all things, barring Isvara So, compared with other things, it is eternal, but in truth it is not. To conclude, Sayana would have us conceive that the Veda too enjoys the same status, i e in other words, 'the eternity of the Veda' is only a courteous appellation (*upacāra matram*) [10]

Sāyana does not seem to address himself directly to the question of Vedas being called sruti, though he does try to define the Vedas in the Rg-Veda bhāsya as 'the mass of words (*sabdarāsi*) made up of *mantras* and *brahmanas*,[11] and in his commentary on the Taittiriya Samhitā as "that book (*grantha*) which makes known the transcendent means of obtaining the desirable and avoiding the undesirable"[12] But as Sāyana clearly recognises in the Taittiriya Samhita bhāṣya that 'in the first creation like ether and time the generation of the Veda is also from Brahmā",[13] it would appear that his interpretation of the word *sruti* would correspond to its being "heard by the sages in aeonic succession

Thus for Sayana the Vedas are *apauruseya* because no man is their author, rather that Brahman is their cause they are *nitya* in the sense of only being empirically eternal and they are *sruti* in the sense that they are heard by the sages and are not composed by them

IV

With Surendranath Dasgupta one enters the world of modern scholarship and its implication for the understanding of the Vedas as non human, eternal and revealed documents The basic change of perspective involved may be summarised thus Among the ancient Hindus and among the orthodox Hindus of today innocent of historical scholarship 'The belief that the Vedas were revealed complete as they stand without any process of development" seems to have been "widely held whereas modern scholarship prefers to regard the Vedas as 'the production of individual men and a few

10 Ibid. pp 43-44
11 Ibid p 25
12 Ibid p 26. Also see Haridas Bhattacharyya ed op cit. Vol. I p 182.
13 Ibid., p 43

women, who composed their works at times widely separated and with varying degrees of literary power"[14]

Surendranath Dasgupta brings this latter perspective to bear on the appellations which describe the Vedas as *apauruṣeya*, *nitya* and *sruti* He seems to be inclined to regard the alleged human authorlessness and eternity of the Vedas as in some sense representing an exaggerated appreciation within the tradition of the antiquity of the Vedas

> The sacred books of India, the Vedas, are generally believed to be the earliest literary record of the Indo-European race It is indeed difficult to say when the earliest portions of these compositions came into existence Many shrewd guesses have been offered, but none of them can be proved to be incontestably true Max Muller supposed the date to be 1200 B C, Haug 2400 B C and Bal Gangadhar Tilak 4000 B C The ancient Hindus seldom kept any historical record of their literary, religious or political achievements The Vedas were handed down from mouth to mouth from a period of unknown antiquity, and the Hindus generally believed that they were never composed by men It was therefore generally supposed that either they were taught by God to the sages, or that they were of themselves revealed to the sages who were the "seers" (*mantra-draṣṭā*) of the hymns Thus we find that when some time had elapsed after the composition of the Vedas, people had come to look upon them not only as very old, but so old that they had, theoretically at least, no beginning in time, though they were believed to have been revealed at some unknown remote period at the beginning of each creation[15]

As for the Vedas being called *sruti*, Surendranath Dasgupta's explanation is again historical He remarks on the Vedic corpus

> If we roughly classify this huge literature from the points of view of age, language, and subject matter, we can point out four different types, namely the Samhita or collection of verses (sam together, *hita* put), Brahmānas, Āranyakas ("forest treaties") and the Upanisads All these literatures, both prose and verse were looked upon as so holy that in early times it was thought almost a sacrilege to write them, they were therefore learnt by heart by the Brahmins from the mouth of their preceptors and were hence called *sruti* (literally anything heard)[16]

14 Percival Spear ed. *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford Clarendon Press 1961) pp 44 45
15 Surendranath Dasgupta op cit, p 10
16 *Ibid* p 12

Thus for Surendranath Dasgupta the Vedas were called *apauruseya* because they went back to an unidentifiable source in antiquity,[17] they were called *nitya* for the same reason and they were called *sruti* because they were transmitted orally

V

T M. P Mahadevan brings a fresh perspective to bear on the familiar appellations of the Vedas in Hinduism Perhaps his perspective can be described as neo Hindu He writes

> The Hindus believe that the Vedas which constitute *Śruti* are not compositions of any human mind The Vedas are eternal (*nitya*) and impersonal (*apauruseya*) They are the breath of God, eternal truths revealed to the great *ṛṣis* of yore The word '*ṛṣi*' is significant It means a seer, from *drs* to see The *ṛṣis* saw the truths or heard them Hence the Vedas are what are heard (*Śruti*) They represent the spiritual experiences of the ancient sages, the glorious heritage of *Āryavarta*
>
> Hinduism does not swear by any single prophet It takes its stand on revelation The seer is only a medium to transmit to posterity the insight which he receives He is no more the inventor of the Veda than is Newton the generator of the law of gravity The Vedic truths are discovered and not produced, revealed and not manufactured And so they are impersonal (*apauruseya*) Unlike natural laws which govern the temporal universe and are bound to pass therewith, the Vedic truths belong to the spiritual realm they are everlasting values and hence eternal (*nitya*) [18]

It is worth noting that the appellations have been retained but have undergone a radical reinterpretation This is less obvious in the case of *sruti*, but even here the focus has shifted from God to man, to the seers whose spiritual experiences are now seen as enshrined in the Vedas [19]

The radical shift in the understanding of the terms is more apparent in the case of *apauruṣeya* and *nitya* The insistence on

17 It may be suggested that from a historical point of view the Vedas may be regarded as *apauruṣeya* because they are not the work of one man, but rather of families. The distinction then would not be between their being human or divine works but rather between being individual or familial works Thus the Ṛgveda is neither an historical nor a heroic poem but mainly a collection (*samhitā*) of hymns by a number of priestly families recited or chanted by them with appropriate solemnity at sacrifices to the gods (R C Majumdar, ed, *The Vedic Age* Bombay Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957 p 225)

18 T M P Mahadevan, *op cit* p 29

19 Also see Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A Moore eds., *A Source Book of Indian Philosophy* (Princeton University Press, 1957) p xxvi

apauruṣeyatā and *nityatā* as representing the impersonal nature of the laws is of great interest, and indeed represents an understanding not without precedent in the Hindu[20] and even the Buddhist tradition.[21]

Thus, for T. M. P. Mahadevan the Vedas are *śruti* because traditionally they were "heard" by the seers; they are *apauruṣeya* because they reveal impersonal laws and they are *nitya* because their universe of discourse, namely the spiritual realm, is eternal.

VI

It is clear, therefore, that the Hindu self-understanding of the Vedas, through the ages, though represented by the same appellations, has changed with time. Sometimes the sense of one appellation is modified but not of the other, sometimes an earlier understanding is revived or a new one incorporated but withal the Hindu tradition has succeeded by and large in continuing to regard the Vedas as *śruti*, as *apauruṣeya* and as *nitya*.

20 Vacaspati Miśra "did not believe in the eternity of words and sentences" as constituting *nityatā*, "and the various examples he gives ('fire does not wet', 'water does not burn') show that in his opinion moral laws are invariable like physical laws Unswervable laws could be stated only in a uniform (*niyata*) way That seems to be his proof for the sameness of the Veda in every aeon" (K. Satchidananda Murthy, *op. cit*, p 42)

21 See *Anguttara-Nikāya* iii 134 Whether Buddhas arise, O priests, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are transitory. This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the constituents of being are transitory
Whehter Buddhas arise O priests, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are misery This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the constituents of being are misery
Whether Buddhas arise, O Priests, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its elements *are lacking in an Ego* This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the elements of being are lacking in an Ego (Quoted in Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* New York Atheneum, 1970 p xiv)

MAHIMABHAṬṬA'S CRITICISM OF THE CONCEPT OF DHVANI

By

Satya Vrat

Though the concept of Dhvani had made wide acceptance at the hands of Alaṃkārikas, there have been some, they are however far smaller in number, who have voiced their opposition to it. Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa is one of them. In the first chapter of his *Vyaktiviveka* he devotes considerable space to the criticism of Dhvani and the enunciation of his view which regards it as redunant, the purpose of it being adequately served through the primary power of Denotation, Abhidha. Mahimabhaṭṭa is Abhidhāvādin. His view may be briefly set forth as follows. There is no power in a word except Abhidhā. Lakṣanā resides in the sense and not in the word. In the expression *gaur vahikah*, the identification between the ox and the resident of Vahikas is known through inference, *anumāna*. Similarly is known the situation of a hamlet on the bank of the river Ganga on account of the impossibility of its being located on the flowing current of water. This inference, *anumiti*, according to him, is different from the *anumiti*, inference, of the Naiyayikas, it is *kāvyanumiti*. Suggestion being a secondary sense comes within the purview of the *kāvyānumiti*. In expression where secondary sense is understood it is not due to suggestion, it is due to *kāvyānumiti*. Now all these are familiar points of criticism. There is, however one point where Mahimabhaṭṭa's criticism of the Dhvani School is characterized by freshness of approach. He tries to cut at the very root of it. It is maintained by the Alaṃkārikas that the use of the word Dhvani on their part is inspired by the similarity of its function in the Vyakaranasastra, *vyañjakatvasamyat*.[1] *In the* Vyakaranasāstra the relationship between Dhvani and Sphoṭa is that of *vyanjaka*, manifestor, and *vyangya*, manifested. This relationship is similar to the one between *ghaṭa* and *pradīpa*, the jar and the lamp. Just as a lamp manifests a jar but while manifesting it manifests itself too similarly does Dhvani manifest Sphoṭa while manifesting itself too. In other words between Dhvani and Sphoṭa there is the relationship of *yaugapadya*, simultaneity. That is the import of the *ghaṭapradīpanyāya*. It is at this Mahima-

---

1– बुधैर्वैयाकरणैः प्रधानभूतस्फोटरूपव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकस्य शब्दस्य ध्वनिरिति व्यवहारः कृतः । ततस्तन्मतानुसारिभिरन्यैरपि न्यग्भावितवाच्यव्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जनक्षमस्य शब्दार्थयुगलस्य ।

—Kavyaprakaśa I 4

bhaṭṭa has launched his attack There is no simultaneity here There is sequence here too Says he

> अत एव (क्रमस्य सुलक्षत्वात) श्रूयमाणाना शब्दानां ध्वनि-
> व्यपदेशभाजामन्तःसन्निवेशिनश्च स्फोटाभिमतस्यार्थस्य
> व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावो न सम्भवतीति व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्याद शब्दार्थात्मनि
> काव्ये ध्वनिव्यपदेशो सो ऽप्यनुपपन्न ।[2]

The moment the concept of *yaugapadya*, simultaneity, is taken out, the whole concept of Dhvani, based as it is on the similarity of function of Dhvani in Vyākarana and Alankāraśāstras, falls If in the Vyākaranasāstra it can be shown that there is no relationship of *vyañjaka* and *vyangya* between Dhvani and Sphoṭa which would mean that Dhvani is not *vyañjaka*, the use of the word Dhvani in Alankaraśāstra on the similarity of its function in Vyakaranaśāstra *vyañjakatvasāmyad*, would lose its point With the sequence, *krama*, existing in Dhvani and Sphoṭa, they evidently cannot stand in the relationship of *vyañjaka* and *vyangya* they would instead have to stand in the relationship of *gamaka* and *gamya* If we accept Dhvani as *gamaka* or *anumapaka* in Vyākaranasāstra we shall have to accept it as such in Alankaraśastra *In that case Dhvani will lose its raison de etre* and would come to be identified with *anumiti (dhvaner anumitav antarbhavah)* Now this is a criticism which is of far reaching significance not only for the Ālankārikas but also for the Vyaiyākaranas who have all along accepted the relationship of *vyañjaka* and *vyangya* between Dhvani and Sphoṭa With his informed criticism Mahimabhaṭṭa has created a problem for the rhetoricians and the grammarians

---

2 *Vyaktiviveka* Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Varanasi 1936 p 57



THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING DUṢYANTA'S APPEAL TO HIS CONSCIENCE IN THE *ŚĀKUNTALA*

By

MINAL M VORA

I

Eastern and western scholars both modern and ancient have showered lavish praises upon the drama *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa The drama has its appeal not merely because it is highly poetical, dramatic and artistic, but because it appeals to the human heart and deals with the highest values of life

The commencement of the main scene of the 1st Act is as dynamic as it is dramatic King Duṣyanta in pursuit of an antelope is drawn near the precincts of Kanva's hermitage He is about to shoot an arrow but is dissuaded from killing the deer by three ascetics and he respects their request The King receives from them an invitation to pay a visit to the hermitage and enjoy their hospitality He learns from them that the great sage Kanva has gone to Somatirtha, having appointed his daughter Śakuntalā to receive guests Accepting the invitation, the king moves in the direction of the hermitage At this very moment, his right arm throbs and he wonders how there could be any fruit of this good omen in such tranquil grounds of the penance-grove According to the science of omens throbbing of the right arm is indicative of the acquisition of a lovely maiden However, he concludes, "inscrutable are the ways of destiny!"

The king, buoyant with joy on account of the good omen, moves a little further — and hears the sound of some females Soon he is pleasantly surprised to see three lovely maidens coming in his direction in order to water young plants He is impressed by their forms and exclaims "How charming their looks are!" In order to watch them without being noticed the king hides himself behind the boughs of a tree Gradually the king comes to know the identity of Śakuntalā and his admiration for her loveliness makes him reproach the great sage Kaṇva for his lack of discrimination in appointing her to the exacting duties of the hermitage Frequent references to her natural beauty made by her friends Priyamvadā and Anasuyā

attract the king towards her and deepen his love for her Indeed he fully agrees with Priyamvadā, who pays a compliment to Śakun talā by saying, "With you beside it, this Kesara tree appears as though united with a creeper'" As Śakuntalā is viewing the Vana jyotsnā creeper and the mango tree closely, Priyamvadā jokularly remarks that just as the Vanajyotsnā creeper is united with the mango tree Śakuntalā wishes likewise to obtain a worthy groom' This remark creates joy in Duṣyanta's heart, which however is rent with doubts about Śakuntalā's eligibility for a marriage with a Kṣatriya He hopes, 'Would that the daughter of the sage is born from a spouse of a different — lower — caste?' Indeed, the very next moment he asserts, "She is worthy of marriage with a Kṣatriya since my virtuous mind (*āryam manaḥ*) longs for her, for to the good, in matters of doubt, the inclination of their conscience is the final authority' and he adds, "Nevertheless, I shall ascertain the facts about her"

The king learns from Śakuntalā's friends that she is eligible for a Kṣatriya's hand and that Kanva intends to marry her to a suitable husband Śakuntalā too has been struck by the dignifi d personality of the king and her simple heart experiences a feeling of love for the first time Both the lovers manifest their mutual feelings so clearly that Anasūyā and Priyamvadā mark the change that has come over Śakuntalā and direct all their efforts to unite the two lovers Thereafter, Duṣyanta and Śakuntala are duly married according to the Gāndharva form of marriage After some days the king returns to his capital On account of the recent departure of her husband Śakuntala is deeply engrossed in his thought At this juncture, the easily irritable sage Durvāsas announces his arrival in the hermitage, but Śakuntalā takes no notice of him and fails to greet him The sage feels that she has deliberately ignored him and curses her that he of whom she thinks with such concentration will not remember her even when reminded The two friends of Śakun tala grew alarmed at this imprecation Anasuya tries to appease the sage and he modifies the curse that it will end at the sight of a token of recognition The friends resolve to keep this secret to themselves

A few weeks elapsed since the occurrence of this incident Śakuntala is *enciente* The great sage Kanva has just returned from his long journey to Somatirtha and Anasuyā is a little hesitant to inform him of what has happened in his absence Fortunately, an incorporeal voice acquaints him about the marriage of Dusyanta and Śakuntala The sage is very glad and blesses Śakuntala on her choice He decides to send her to her husband s home that very

morning and Śakuntalā escorted by Gautamī, the matron of the hermitage, and two pupils of Kaṇva leaves for the capital

The 5th Act commences with a musical air The king has just left his judgment seat and is proceeding towards his private chamber At this moment, he hears the strains of music He understands and appreciates the singer, queen Hamsapadikā, who cleverly reproaches him for having forgotten her — his erstwhile love However, the king grows uneasy after hearing the song and knows not why? Indeed, the curse of Durvāsas has made him forget everything about Śakuntalā, nevertheless her impressions are all present in his subconscious which trouble him at present The party from Kanva's hermitage arrives in the palace The king sends instructions to the Purohita to bring the ascetics to the fire-sanctuary after giving them a due welcome He is surprised to see a young maiden among the ascetics but checks his curiosity about her with the words, "Well, somebody else's wife is not to be oggled at" Alas! the king refers to his own lawfully married wife as "somebody's" wife! And when Sarngarava conveys Kanva's message to the king and asks him to accept Śakuntalā — his consort quick with child — he wonders and asks "What is all this about?' To Śakuntala this is a bolt from the blue Hot words are exchanged between Duṣyanta and Śārngarava but when the king is not prepared to accept Śakuntalā as his wife, revered Gautami removes the veil of Śakuntalā, so that her husband may recognise her Indeed, the king is impressed by Śakuntala's loveliness and exclaims Unable to decide whether this form of unimpaired beauty which has thus arrived was accepted or not by me before, I can neither accept nor reject her, like a bee, at dawn, the Kunda flower with a dew-drop within" Śakuntalā's plight is pitiable She thinks of removing the king's doubt by showing him the signet ring But alas! the ring has disappeared from her finger! The more she attempts to remind him of incidents to which they both were witness in privacy in the penance-grove, the more critical and firm the king becomes He taunts Śakuntalā 'Inborn cleverness is seen even of females other than human, what then of those who are possessed of reason? Indeed, the female cuckoos get their young ones reared by other birds until they are able to fly in the sky"

Śakuntala is deeply hurt by this remark of the king, as she takes it to be a deliberate reference to her manner of birth She angrily says, "You ill bred fellow! do you judge others by the measure of your own heart?' The king is shaken by this strong remark of Śakuntalā and says to himself "Her anger is so natural! Indeed this renders my mind doubtful" However he addresses Śakuntalā, "Good lady! Duṣyanta's character is well known, yet this is never

noticed" Śakuntalā has no words but tears in reply and when the matter reaches a deadlock, the king unable to take a decision in the matter says, "Either I am confused or she is telling a lie, so either I would be repudiating my wife or shall be sinful by contact with somebodyelse's wife" — and therefore seeks the advice of his preceptor

Now it will be seen that there is a certain parallelism between the incidents of the 1st and the 5th Acts in so far as they have a bearing on the character and behaviour of the king

In the 1st Act when the king is in doubt whether *Śakuntalā* is eligible for marriage with a Kṣatriya, he resolves the doubt positively by an appeal to his conscience In the 5th Act too, an apparently similar situation obtains The king firmly refuses to accept Śakuntalā as his wife, since he has forgotten all about her However, he is shaken in his resolve by Śakuntala's natural anger and feels for a moment, "May be that she speaks the truth!" At this juncture, he could have as well appealed to his conscience, but does not Why?

Students and critics of Kālidāsa's works have dealt with various interesting problems arising from this drama for more than a century However, it appears, that the question raised above is not discussed by any scholar in this form Only recently Prof D R Mankad broached this problem in *Samskṛti*, (Vol I No 2 1947) a well-known Gujarati literary monthly He analysed the similarity of situation in both the Acts and expressed his own view about it Prof M A Mahendale, Shri D K. Shastri and Dr H C Bhayani carried forward the discussion by offering their own opinions on the problem However, the question still appears to be open for re examination

II

Let us briefly analyse the import of the *discussion of these* learned scholars

According to Prof Mankad the character of king Duṣyanta is noble (Sat) in the 1st Act In matters of doubts, an appeal to the conscience even of the noble is permissible only when it is free from selfishness and other passions According to Prof Mankad, though the king falls in love with Śakuntalā, his love has not reached the level of a passion and therefore an appeal made to his conscience is permissible and reliable too! On the other hand Prof Mankad believes in the 5th Act the character of the king is fallen from nobility He is self conscious—conscious of his superior status and behaves with Śakuntalā as such This sense of pride lowers his noble

character, therefore he cannot make an appeal to his conscience in case of doubt here

Prof Mahendale is critical of Prof Mankad's argument, since he holds a diametrically opposite view about this problem and its solution He feels that the character of the king is nobler in the 5th Act than in the 1st Act His argument is that in the 5th Act, the king is shown as a man full of moral courage and his character shines at its best there In spite of his attraction towards Śakun talā's loveliness and the fact of his childlessness he firmly refuses to accept Śakuntalā as his wife This reveals his high moral sense The reason why he uses strong words at Śakuntalā is not that he has become proud, it is merely an act of self-defence on his part. Therefore according to Prof Mahendale, the question of not appealing to his conscience is not, as will be shown later, mainly psychological or based on the king's character

Prof Mahendale tries to explain the problem as follows a doubt is always based upon some kind of certainty regarding the thing for which the doubt has arisen An appeal to one's conscience is pos sible or reliable only when this precondition exists In the 1st Act since the king is certain about his attraction towards Śakuntalā, he could make an appeal to his conscience In the 5th Act, however, he is uncertain about his marriage with Śakuntalā and therefore he cannot make an appeal to his conscience It can be urged against this reasoning of Prof Mahendale that some kind of certainty regarding a thing should not be an invariable precedent on which a doubt may exist An attempt to resolve a doubt is necessarily confined to the province of doubt, be in a simple situation in which the entire situation is the object of doubt or a complex situation some part of which is certain and some doubtful Any object about which there is certainty would lie entirely outside the operation of any *pramāna* utilised for the resolution of a doubt Therefore in the 5th Act, if the king were certain about his marriage with Śakun tala only a doubt about the embryo within her would have been responsible for any hesitation on his part to accept her However, this kind of doubt is assigned only a secondary importance by Kālidāsa

Dr Bhayani considers Dusyanta s character to be *sat* (noble) throughout the drama and remarks that the question whether his feeling of love was gross in the beginning and was sublimated later or whether his mind was at one time full of passion and sober at another, has no relation with his being noble, but with his internal psychological development Nobility cannot always be of a uniform quality

The definition of nobility and the observations made on its basis by Dr Bhayani are practical but not indeed fundamental The question is Can the decision arrived at under pressure of particular circumstances *on the part of a person of a certain level of nobility* be accepted as authoritative if it rests only on an appeal to conscience?

III

Now let us examine the problem independently

The question still remains why the king does not make an appeal to his conscience in the 5th Act, as he does in the 1st Act? Under what circumstances, in matters of doubt, can a righteous person even make an appeal to his conscience? In Smṛti works certain *definite rules are laid down regarding the authoritativeness* of this and other means of right knowledge In *Manusmṛti* the following verse bearing on the question is found

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥

—*Manu* 2 6

'The entire Veda, the character of those who are well versed in the Veda and the Smṛtis composed by them, the behaviour of the good and their satisfaction i e an appeal to their conscience — these are considered to be the source of Dharma"

Moreover, while dealing with the *same topic*, the *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* comments as follows

एतेषां विरोधे पूर्वपूर्वस्य बलीयस्त्वम् ।

Mita On *Yaj Smṛti* I 7

"In case of conflict among these, each preceding source is stronger than the succeeding one"

This clearly shows that in *matters of doubt an appeal to the* conscience of the good is permissible only in the absence of all the other means of right knowledge From this point of view, the king's appeal to his conscience in the 1st Act & not in the 5th Act is quite intelligible and legitimate

Let us examine briefly the character of the king in the 1st Act

In the 1st Act the king in pursuit of an antelope is drawn near the precincts of Kanva s hermitage It is to be noted that *hunting* is considered to be the most obnoxious among the vices for kings of

पानमक्षाः स्त्रियश्चैव मृगया च यथाक्रमम् ।
एतत्कष्टतमं विद्याच्चतुष्कं कामजे गणे ॥

—*Manu* 7 50

Secondly, the king is attracted towards Śakuntalā and falls in ove with her Indeed this is so human in his case, although it accentuates his passion and thus bars his character from being perfectly Sāttvika Though this is the case, yet while making an appeal to his conscience regarding Śakuntalā's eligibility for a marriage with a Kṣatriya, he refers to his own heart as virtuous If the character of the king at the moment when the doubt about Śakuntalā arises in his heart is analysed, it will be noticed that his character is virtuous and his heart is above selfishness and other passions The fact that he permits a doubt to arise in his mind about the mater which he loves so passionately and is prepared to listen to the direction of the Inner voice on the matter shows that for the moment he has brushed aside all personal considerations of his likes and dislikes and has adopted an attitude of total detachment—which is always the hall mark of a virtuous man (Satpurusa) This appeal to his conscience is the only means of resolving his doubt for none of the other means enumerated in the Dharma Śastra is available to him at the moment

Let us now analyse the character of the king in the 5th Act The question whether the king should have made an appeal to his heart in order to resolve a doubt really arises only when he feels shaken from his self assurance and observes "The anger of this lady appears to be genuine as it makes me doubt my own position in the matter ' In the preceding portion of the Act the author appears to have attempted to provide a general indication of Duṣyanta's nobility of character as well as a suggestion that Durvāsa's curse has already begun to operate His question, "Has this lady been married by me before?" to Śārngarava when the latter commends Śakuntalā for acceptance as his wife in the name of Kanva clearly shows that he has forgotten all about her as a result of Durvasa's curse It does not represent any doubt in his mind about the matter, because he is firmly convinced that it was not so Duṣyanta, though pleasure-loving is yet a righteous king devoted to the discharge of his duties His statement "Duṣyanta's character is well-known ' is not made with any sense of arrogance but is an explanation in self defence against the malignant remarks of Śakuntala Thus, the character of Duṣyanta cannot be said to have undergone any fundamental change in his basic character in the 5th Act (Being essentially a virtuous king whose appeal to his conscience in matters of doubt has once proved true in the 1st Act he could have made a

similar appeal in the 5th Act also, when he is really thrown into a doubt about his relationship with Śakuntalā by her transparently natural anger. But he does not do so — indeed he could not do so, because in this Act he is not alone in a forest but in his palace attended upon by his moral and religious 'friend, philosopher and guide' the royal priest Somarāta. When the expert guidance of the family priest steeped in the learning of the Vedas and the Smṛtis is available to him, it is not proper — nor permissible from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra rules — for the king to appeal to his conscience and resolve his doubt in the light thereof Thus, the solution of the problem under discussion would lie more in the realm of the rules of behaviour laid down in the Smṛtis than in any psychological or moral differentiation in the character of Duṣyanta in the two Acts

ADOPTION. UNMARRIED MOTHER*

By

H S URSEKAR

It is wellknown that adoption is legally permissible only under the Hindu Law The Muslim Law and the Christian Law do not recognise adoption The Parsis can adopt a son known as the Palak son for a limited purpose of performing some rituals, but such a son acquires no rights in the property

Hindu Law of adoption goes back to the hoary past For the Hindu, son is the most important achievements of life A son is believed to redeem his parents from a hell called 'put' A son continues the family name, family line and gives oblations to the forefathers Adoption for a Hindu is thus a matter of vital religious significance both in this world and hereafter The Smritikaras like Vasistha, Baudhayana, Shaunak Manu and Yajnavalkya have given a great spiritual cum secular importance to adoption An adopted son is one of the twelve kinds of sons recognised by Manu and Yajnavalkya Shaunaka in a telling epithet describes an adopted child as the reflection of the natural son

Manu and Yajnavalkya have recognised as many as twelve sons out of which only three are recognised today viz natural born son, adopted son and a kritrima son in Mithila School These sages were so advanced in their views that they have given recognition even to the son of an unmarried woman, to a foundling and even to son who was in embryo at the time of his mother s marriage

The Hindu law of adoption was considerably conflicting and uncertain due to different interpretations of the texts of the ancient law-givers and this created a number of problems according to different schools of Hindu law To illustrate it may be pointed out that the text of Vasistha that "a woman shall not give or take in adoption without the consent of the Bharta" was interpretated differently by various commentators and hence the right of the woman to adopt was different according to various schools According to Mithila school it was held that a widow cannot adopt as the husband ought to be present at the time of adoption and must give consent personally to his wife to take the child in adoption

In Bengal, Benaras and Madras a widow may adopt under the authority from her husband in that behalf Such authority may be

* For technical reasons diacritical marks are not used in this article —Ed

express or implied It cannot be however implied from the absence of a prohibition

In the Madras State a widow may also adopt without her husband's authority, if where the husband was separate at the time of death, she obtains the consent of his sapindas and where he was joint, she obtains the consent of his undivided co-parceners In the Bombay State a widow may adopt even without any authority of the husband provided there is no prohibition by the husband to his wife to adopt after his death

However after the passing of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintainance Act 1956 the conflicting interpretations have been nullified and the adoption law is now uniform, *sensible and certain* which are the conspicious advantages of codification

This enactment has inducted a number of vital changes in the traditional law of adoption Formerly only a son could be adopted but now even a daughter can be adopted A bachelor or a spinster can adopt a child of his choice, he or she even can adopt one son and one daughter that is two *children Formerly there were no* restrictions on the age of the child to be adopted In the Bombay case of Balabai vs Mahadu, 48 Bombay, 387 a married man was validly adopted along *with his wife and children* by *widow of* younger age Now under Section 9 of the Act the adopted child must not be more than 15 years old and must be unmarried These *restrictions are* salutary

However I think there is a lacuna in Section 9 of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintainance Act 1956 dealing with persons capable of giving a child in adoption This provision is to the effect that if the father is alive he alone has the right to give his child in adoption with the consent of the mother of the child The right of the mother to give a child in adoption with which we are concerned here is laid down in sub-section 3 of section 9 of the Act It runs as *follows*

The mother may give the child in adoption if the father is dead or has completely and finally renounced the world or has ceased to be a Hindu or has been declared by a Court of competent jurisdiction to be of unsound mind

It will be seen that the present position is that an unmarried mother has no right of giving her child *in adoption To remove* this lacuna in the law it is proposed that sub section 3 to section 8 of the Adoptions and Maintainance Act 1956 be amended so as to confer such a right on the mother of the child by *adding some words*

"or mother of a child born out of wedlock "at the end of section 9 (3) The reasons for this amendment may be stated as follows

We are living in an age of equality of men and women Further under the Indian Constitution there is an inherent equality between man and woman Man and woman are alike in the eye of the law.

Dr Derrett the learned professor of Hindu Law holds the view that the Dharmashastras of the Hindus is a mine of wisdom and so why not go back to the ancient Hindu Law Vasistha is an authority on the law of Adoption It states that माता पिता वा दद्याताम। meaning thereby that a mother or a father may give a child in adoption There are no restrictive worlds in this text against an unmarried mother Further this interpretation seems to be substantiated by the position that Manu and Yajnavalkya have recognised a Kanina that is the son of an unmarried mother If an unmarried daughter's son can be recognised by the ancient law givers it is logical to urge that she must also have a right to give such a Kanina son in adoption. Further such an unmarried mother giving birth to a son is as much a mata as a wife

According to the courts the objects of adoption are two fold the first in religious, to secure spiritual benefit to the adopter and his ancestors by having a son for the purpose of offering funeral cakes and libations of water and to perpetuate the adopter s name, see the case of Sitaram *vs* Harihar (1911) 35 Bombay 169 It will be seen that in modern social behaviour the emphasis has shifted from the spiritual aspect of adoption to its secular impact The purpose of adoption was more for the welfare of his parents by continuing the family name in this world and hereafter by offering oblations to the deceased parents and ancestors so that they may secure a place of peace and happiness in the next world But now with the diminishing faith in spiritual values the secural aspect of adoption is gaining ground slowly so that it is the welfare of the child which is becoming the paramount consideration Hence there is no reason why an unmarried mother or even a woman of vice should be denied the right to give her child in adoption even though it might have been conceived in sin and shame because that does not take away the innocence of the child

In fact the Hindu Adoptions Act 1956 has broken a new ground by conferring the right to take a child in adoption upon an unmarried woman under section 8 Then why should an unmarried woman be denied the capacity and the right to give her child in adoption

Time is now ripe to urge that this lacuna in the legislation should be removed

It can be now maintained that capacity to adopt has little bearing on the marriage status, as now even a spinster or bachelor has the capacity to adopt a child (section 7 & 8). Hence it is reasonable to contend that adoption has little or no nexus with married status, as lack of married status is no bar to take a child in adoption

Further it can be also contended successfully that illegitimacy of the child is no bar to its capacity for being given in adoption The section 9(4) provides that even where the parent of the child is not known the guardian of a child may with the previous permission of the court give the child in adoption including the guardian himself *It is wellknown that the authorities of Anathashramas are authorised by the court to give such illegitimate* children in adoption Hence it is clear that illegitimacy of the child is no boar to its capacity of being given in adoption, and hence the son of an unmarried woman should be clothed with a capacity of being given in adoption by his mother

In case of a divorce I may suggest that if the dissolution of marriage has been obtained at the instance of the father, the right to give the child in adoption from the said marriage, should be conferred on the divorcee respondent and for this purpose the Hindu Adoptions and Maintainance Act 1966 may be amended suitably

I had an occasion to place the above views before the Workshop on adoption held in Poona in January 1976 and the social workers who had participated in the said workshop welcomed this suggestion

In fine I may urge that section 9 of the Hindu Adoption and Maintainance Act 1956 may be suitably amended to bring about this reforms in adoption law This would be in tune with the spirit of the movement of women's lib and the welfare of the child

A FRESH INTERPRETATION
Of
नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति ।

By

S G MOGHE

It is an admitted fact that in the third chapter of the Manu-Smṛti, we have a very lengthy description of the Brahmins worthy of being invited for the Śrāddha ceremony and also the Brahmins who should be specifically avoided

In the Śrāddha section of this Dharma-Śāstra, the Manu-Smṛti gives a following stanza [1] This stanza simply means that a trainer of elephants, oxen, horses, or camels, he who subsists by Astrology, a bird-fancier and he who teaches the use of arms should be avoided for a Śrāddha ceremony

Now here the question arises as regards the exact interpretation of the expression 'नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति । All the commentators of the Manu Smṛti take this word as referring to a professional astrologer This is evident from the following observations of these commentators

Medhatithi (825 A D to 900 A D) remarks that by the word 'nakṣatra' the science of astrology is intended to be conveyed Sarvajñanārayana[3] (before 1400 A D) also subscribes to this view of Medhātithi Kullūka (1150 A D to 1300 A D), Rāghavananda[4] (later than 1350 A D) and Govindarāja (1050 to 1140 A D) also have exhibited complete agreement with the view point of Medhātithi

It is further interesting to note here that Nīlakantha (1600-1660 A D) also quotes a stanza[5] from the Yama Smṛti in his Śrāddha-Mayūkha, to show that a professional astrologer is disqualified for the Śraddha Ceremony

If the above interpretation is accepted, then it naturally follows that in the eyes of Dharma-Śāstra and particularly the Manu-Smṛti,

---

1 हस्तिगोऽश्वोष्ट्रदमको नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति । मनुस्मृति III 162
पक्षिणां पोषको यश्च युद्धाचार्यस्तथैव च ॥

2 तत्र जीवति ज्योतिषिक । मनुस्मृति U II P 172

3 Ibid p 172

4 Ibid pp 172-173

a professional astrologer is completely prohibited for the Śrāddha ceremony.

It must be stated in this very context that MM Dr P V Kane has already proved the inseparable or inextricable relation[5] between the Dharma-Śāstra and the science of Astrology, in his History of Dharma-Śāstra In view of this relation, it would not be charitable on our part to jump to the above conclusion that a professional astrologer is condemned by the Manu-Smṛti in particular and Dharma-Śāstra in general

The most important question to be considered in this respect is whether such a professional astrologer is also given the same treatment of odiom even in the works of astrology or not

The help rendered by the work 'Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (500-550 A D) is of paramount importance to decide this important issue The Brhat samhitā[7] II 16 is quoted by the commentators Rāmācārya (1522 Śake i e 1600 A D) and his nephew Govinda on the Muhūrta Cintāmani I 2 This stanza simply means that he who *becomes an astrologer or* rises to the position of an astrologer without possessing the adequate knowledge of the science of astrology is regarded as defiling the line of Brahmins and is known as a sinner It is worthy of note here that Varāhamihira has used the expression 'naksatrasūcaka' which is very significant in this respect Bhaṭṭotpala[8] (850 A D according to Dr P V Kane) explains the word 'nakṣatrasūcaka' as 'nakṣatrapisuna' But Govinda on the Muhūrta Cintamani I 2 explains[9] the word 'nakṣatrasūcaka' as a person who visits from one house to another and unasked goes on foretelling good or bad results in accordance with the constellations such as Aśvinī, Bharani, etc Here it appears that he has offered an etymological explanation of the word 'nakṣatrasucaka' This elucidation on the part of Govinda is very important to interpret the expression' नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति । of the Manu-Smṛti III 162

It has to be emphasised here that both Rāmācarya and Govinda *in their comments on the Muhurta-Cintāmani I 2* further quote a stanza[10] from the text of Vasiṣtha to indicate *that a Brahmin who* is nakṣatrasūcaka is to be avoided for all the ceremonies pertaining to religious matters

---

5 नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् मुहूर्तान् मङ्गलानि च ।
न निर्दिशन्ति ये विप्रास्तैर्मुक्तं श्राद्धं भवेत् ॥ श्राद्धमयूख P 37

6 History of Dharma Śastra Vol. V Part I. pp 463-718

7 अविदित्वैव यः शास्त्रं दैवज्ञत्वं प्रपद्यते । बृहत्संहिता
स पङ्क्तिदूषकः पापो ज्ञेयो नक्षत्रसूचकः । बृहत्संहिता II 6 p 76

8 Ibid p. 76.

9 गृहे गृहे गत्वाऽपृष्ट एव नक्षत्राण्यश्विन्यादीनि शुभाशुभफलसूचकानि सूचयतीति नक्षत्रसूची । पीयूषधारा p 5

10 नक्षत्रसूची खलु पापरूपो हेयः सदा सर्वसु धर्मकृत्ये । प्रमिताक्षरा on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि P 5

The expression 'nakṣatrasūcaka' is aptly explained in a stanza[11] quoted by Rāmācārya in his comments on the Muhūrta Cintāmaṇi I 2 This stanza further indicates that he who does not possess the proper knowledge of the rise and end of the tithis, and also the movements of the planets but simply goes on foretelling mainly depending upon others is to be treated as a 'nakṣatrasūcaka Needless to say that such an astrologer is a sham astrologer who is not a full fledged astrologer, but who pretends to be a good astrologer. From this, it is evident that one who is a sham astrologer or he who goes and visits from one house to another house and unasked foretells good or bad events is looked down upon in the science of astrology It is a noted fact that in the society, hypocrisy is always condemned That is why it is sometimes said that hypocrisy is a tribute vice paid to virtue

Rāmācārya in his comments on the Muhurta Cintāmaṇi I 2 further quotes a stanza[12] which points out that one who observes fasts as per the directions given by a sham astrologer is bound to go to a place full of pitchy darkness

It would be further interesting to see the text of Varāhamihira in respect of the position of an astrologer in the field of astrology and particularly in relation to the Śrāddha aspect of Dharma Śastra

Varāhamihira in his Brhat-samhitā[13] II 8 points out that the position of an astrologer is tantamount to the position of the sun in the sky or the moon at night In his absence, even a good king is likely to go astray From this, it is evident that a good astrologer guides the virgin steps of a good king on the hard road of politics

In the Bṛhatsamhitā[14] II 9, it is further stated that for want of a good astrologer, there would be a confusion worst confounded in respect of the muhūrtas, tithis, nakṣatras etc

In the Brhatsamhita[15] II 11 one is further advised not to stay in the region in which there is no stay of a good astrologer A good astrologer is looked upon as the eye (of a good king) and so long as he is there, there can be no scope for any sin as such

11 तिथ्युत्पत्ति न जानन्ति ग्रहाणां नैव साधनम् ।
परवाक्येन वर्तन्ते ते वै नक्षत्रसूचकाः ॥ Ibid p 5

12 नक्षत्रसूचकोद्दिष्टमुपवासं करोति यः ।
स व्रजत्यन्धतामिस्रं सार्धमृक्षविडम्बिना ॥ Ibid p 5

13 अप्रदीपा यथा रात्रिरनादित्यं यथा नभः ।
तथाऽसांवत्सरो राजा भ्रमत्यन्ध इवाध्वनि ॥ बृहत्संहिता II 8

14 मुहूर्ततिथिनक्षत्रमृतवश्चायनं तथा ।
सर्वाण्येवाकुलानि स्युर्न स्यात् सांवत्सरो यदि ॥ बृहत्संहिता II 9

15 तस्माद्राज्ञाधिगन्तव्यो विद्वान् सांवत्सरोऽग्रणीः ।
जयं यशः श्रियं भोगान् श्रेयश्च समभीप्सता ॥ बृहत्संहिता ॥ II. II P 74

Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsamhitā II.13 further adds[16] that he who knows the science of astrology completely with the help of books and also can deliver lectures on the same is looked upon as foremost and purifying the line of Brahmins particularly at the time of the Śrāddha ceremony. The expression 'agrabhuk' in the text of Varāhamihira is not meaningless and suggests that such an astrologer is the most competent person to eat food at the Śrāddha ceremony

From the above textual evidence furnished by the author of Bṛhatsamhitā and Rāmācārya and Govinda in their comments on the Muhūrta-Cintāmaṇi, it is clear that this information runs counter to the interpretation offered by the commentators of the Manu-Smṛti and adopted by Bühler and MM Dr P V Kane

Here it would be interesting to see the attitude of the Manu-Smṛti in particular and the Dharma-Śāstra authors in general towards the science of astrology and one who knows this science of astrology This will also offer us a further clue for further interpretation of the passage under discussion

It may be pointed out here that in the Manu Smṛti III 185, a Brahmin who knows the six subsidiary sciences such as Śikṣa, Kalpa, etc is regarded as a competent person to be invited for the Śrāddha ceremony It may be noted here that the study of six subsidiary sciences includes the study of astrology also This simply is indicative of the fact that the attitude of the Manu-Smrti is not altogether antagonistic The expression 'ṣadangavid' is also adopted in the Yama[17] Smṛti quoted in the Śrāddha Kāṇḍa of the Krtyakalpataru and the same is also adopted in the Brahmapurana[18] quoted in the Śraddha Kāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru It may be noted here that some change has taken place in the outlook of the writers on smrtis In the Viṣnu-Smṛti[19] 83 6, it is said that one who is expert in one of the six subsidiary sciences is regarded as a competent Brahmin to be invited at the Śrāddha ceremony If this is accepted then it means that there is nothing wrong in inviting a Brahmin well-versed in the science of astrology for the Śraddha ceremony From this discussion, it is evident that that the Manu-Śmrti, Yama-Smrti, Viṣnu-Smṛti and the Brahma Purāna are inclined to attach importance to the science of astrology and to the one who possesses

16 ग्रन्थतश्चार्थतश्चैतत्कृत्स्न जानाति यो द्विज । वृहत्सहिता
अग्रभुक स भवेच्छाद्ध पूजित पङ्क्तिपावन । P 75

17 शिशुरप्यग्निहोत्री च न्यायविच्च षडङ्गवित । कृत्यकल्पतरु
मन्त्रब्राह्मणविच्चैव यश्चान्यो धर्मपाठक । श्राद्धकाण्ड P 64

18 षडङ्गधरविज्ञानयोगी यज्ञतत्त्वज्ञ एव च ।
अयाचितार्थी विप्रो वा श्राद्धकल्पविदेव च ॥ Ibid p 70

19 वेदाङ्गस्याप्यकस्य पारग । विष्णुस्मति P 806

the adequate knowledge of this science of astrology and are not at all antagonistic towards the same

From the foregoing discussion, it would be reasonable to draw the following legitimate inferences

(1) The Manu Smṛtis and the Brahma Purana admit the importance of the science of Astrology, the knowledge of which is to be possessed by a Brahmin fit for the Śraddha-ceremony

(2) The Manu-Smṛti III 162 condemns a sham astrologer who does not possess sound knowledge of the science of astrology and such a sham astrologer is treated as disqualified for the Śrāddha-ceremony

(3) The text of Varahamihira and Ramacārya and Govinda the commentators of the Muhūrta cintāmani offer invaluable help in interpreting the expression नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति of the Manu Smrti III 162

(4) The expression नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति । of the Manu Smrti III 162 comes very close to the expression 'nakṣatrasucaka used by Varahamihira and properly interpreted by Ramācārya and Govinda in their comments on the Muhurta Cintamani

(5) The text of Varahamihira showers a meed of praise upon the thorough astrologer who is capable of guiding the virgin steps of a good king on the hard road of politics It also condemns the position of a sham astrologer in the eyes of society

In the light of the above inferences it would be fair to conclude that the Manu Smrti III 162 condemns a sham astrologer for the Śraddha Ceremony and not a thorough astrologer by bringing about a via media or a golden mean between the texts of Dharma-Śastra and astrology

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 The Manu-Smṛti with nine commentaries Vol II published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1975
2 The Viṣnu Smrti with the commentary Keshava Vaijayanti of Nandapandita published by Adyar Library Madras 1964
3 The Bṛhatsamhita of Varahamihira with the commentary of Bhattotpala published by Saraswati Bhavan series No 97 Benares 1968
4 Śraddha Mayukha of Nīlakaṇṭha edited by J R Gharpure Published in the collection of Hindu law texts series No 18 1977
5 The Kṛtyakalpataru-Śraddhakaṇḍa published by K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar Baroda Oriental Institute 1950
6 The Muhurta Cintamani with the commentary of Ramacarya published by Venktateshwar Press Bombay 1928
7 The Muhurta Cintamani with the commentary of Govinda published by Venkateshwar Press Bombay
8 The Date of Bhaṭṭotpala fixed by Dr P V Kane in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXXII pp 147 149



Printed by V Varadarajan at Associated Advertisers & Printers 505 Tardeo Arthur Road Bombay 400 034 and Published by S Ramakrishnan Executive Secretary Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Kulapati K M Munshi Marg Bombay 400 007

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A quarterly research organ of the Bhavan
on all subjects connected with Indian Culture

VOLUME XXXIX : No 2
1979



Editors:

PROF JAYANTKRISHNA H DAVE, M A , LL B
PROF. S A. UPADHYAYA, M A.



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY–400 007

Issued in June 1979

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

CONTENTS

Page

SABHĀ AND SAMITI IN THE VEDIC AGE

By

AMULYA KUMAR BHATTACHARJEE

Kingship embracing various constitutional divergences and asseverating varied constitutional status enjoyed by the rulers of States is doubtless the predominant administrative authority in a Vedic India While the administrative chief of Madhyadesa is constitutionally designated as rājā, the chief of the Western region is termed Samraṭ, of Northern Viraṭ, and of Southern Bhoja Notwithstanding these divergences of constitutions chosen by the sons of the soil, the presence of the Sabhā[1] and Samiti[2] like the council of ministers is common to all These popular assemblies—the Sabhā and the Samiti—play, the vast Vedic literature solemnly confirms, no negligible role in matters of administration of a Vedic State *The Aitareya Brāhmana*[3] mentions Sabhā but keeps silent about the Samiti This silence of a solitary Brahmanical text can hardly deny its existence as it is referred to time and again in the anterior, posterior and contemporary texts ranging from the *RK Samhitā* to the latest Vedic literature

The Sabhā is the assembly of the learned and virtuous ones[4] The members of the Sabha are nominated by the king and called Sabhāsad[5] The feudal kings included in the list of Ratnins or Rajakartarah or the king Markers' Body are also members of the Sabhā According to Ludwig the Sabha represents the Upper House consisting of the nobles and the priests, while the Samiti represents the Lower House comprising the commoners[6] A Brahmin is called Sabheya[7] or a man fit to occupy a seat in the Sabhā This is asseverative of noble birth and erudition as the qualifications of a mem ber of the Upper House The expression 'rayih sabhāvan[8] conveying the sense of worthy wealth of the Sabha evidently corroborates the above view held by Ludwig Macdonell and Keith also seem to be inclined to accept it[9] Regarding the age of a member of the assemblies the later vedic texts confirm that a man enjoying youth is indeed entitled to be a member—'Sabheyo yuva'[10] The expres sion 'sabheyam yuvanaṃ also corroborates the above view[11] The *Taittiriya Brāhmana* further states that young man belonging to the first half of the average human longivity is only entitled to be a member[12] Thus neither a minor nor an old could qualify for membership of either of the Houses

The Lord of the Sabhā is called Sabhāpati[13] which office is invariably ornamented by the King Sabhāpāla[14] also sometimes conveys the sense of the Sabhāpati while, according to R K Mukherji,[15] it denotes the Sergeant of the Assembly The Sabhā functions, the above author holds, as a parliament for the disposal of public business by debate and discussion [16] The Brahmins erudite in Vedic lores, the *Aitareya Brāhmana* reveals,[17] are the members of the Sabhā of the divine king Soma They are all comrades of the king and they hardly harbour any malice against him They enter the Assembly bearing friendliness in their mind [18] The comrades carry on discussion on diverse problems relating to the daily administration and exchange their views with the lord of the House—the King Nevertheless, the King's decision is invariably honoured by the members of the Sabhā and they would rather themselves incur defeat out of friendliness In other words, the members or the comrades of the Sabhā submit themselves to the king even though their views diverged Thus the King's desire or decision very often becomes the final word No member of the Sabha is either a disloyal or a bitter critic of the king They all belong to the Treasury Bench Having entered the House, they wait respectfully and affectionately for the auspicious arrival of the latter [19] They become highly delighted when the lord of the House enters the hall with fame and friendliness and pomp and grandeur[20] in commensuration with the constitutional status enjoyed by him The Sabhā, according to Zimmer, however, represents the village council and the Sabhāpati denotes Gramani or the Village Headman [21]

The Samiti comprising the peoples' representative , on the other hand, represents the people in general [22] It is the popular assembly which counsells for the welfare of the whole people [23] The aim of the Samiti lies in the unity of thought, and the minds of the members are identical [24] In other words the welfare of the whole people is the only motto of the Samiti, and not a single member diverges there It is, therefore, hardly improper to maintain that the Samiti or the Lower House, too, contributes much to the daily administration of the State The Samiti, V M Apte holds,[25] is an august assembly of a larger group of people for the discharge of political business, while the Sabhā is a more select body, less popular and political in character The scholars may be aware that in the days of the *Rāmayana* the emperor Dasaratha had to convene the session of the Samiti for an unanimous recommendation of Rāma's crowning as Prince Regent [26] Here, of course, the Samiti comprised all the feudal kings under the emperor as the members and the emperor himself as the lord

The members of the Samiti point out of the grievances of the people to the king They are erudite, well to do and popular as well They represent the people in the truest sense A member can hardly make his mark in both the Sabhā and the Samiti if devoid of gift of the gab and proficiency in debate[23] The members of the Samiti like their counterparts in the Sabhā also await the King's arrival with eagerness Here, too, the King is the lord, and he enters the assembly in the most befitting manner—with all pomps and grandeur[24] Here, however, he is no longer a comrade, and therefore, he cannot readily inflict defeat upon them In a Sabhā the members are all friendly, and belong to the king's side They are comrades and as such they never transgress the king's pleasure But it is not the same with the Samiti[25] Here all the pleasures of the king, if devoid of merits are scarcely considered to be final and binding He can hardly turn a deaf ear to the peoples' representatives for redressing their grievances within the limited resources of the State

The King is supposed to perform his duties in harmony with both the Houses The Welfare of the kingdom depends very much on their mutual understanding and co-operation Although the members of the Sabhā are nominated by the King they barely lag behind to advise the latter as their counterparts in the Samiti do in matters of public welfare Thus the functions of both the Houses are almost identical Perhaps, this is why the Houses are called twin daughters of Prajāpati[30] This further suggests the high esteem enjoyed by the members of both the Houses The Assemblies are regarded, A S Altekar[31] holds almost as divine institutions of greatest antiquity co-evelly existing with the dawn of political life of the community Notwithstanding that the King is the Chairman himself of both the Houses, these along with the Office of the Purohita or the Prime Minister exercise considerable authority acting as healthy checks on the arbitrary powers of the King[32]

REFERENCES

1	*Rk Samhitā*	VI 28 6 VIII 4 9 etc
2	Ibid	X 191 3 etc
3	*Aitareya Brāhmana*	I 3 2 VIII 38 3 VIII 39 7
4	Jayarāma s Commentary on *Paraskara Gṛhya Sutra*	III 12 1 cf Saha dharmena sadbhir va bhātiti sabhā
5	*Atharva Samhitā*	III 29 1 VII 12 2 XIX 55 5 Vedic
6	Macdonell & Keith	*Index of Names and Subjects* (London 1912 Vol II p 430
7	*Rk Samhitā*	II 24 13
8	Ibid	IV 2 5
9	Macdonell & Keith	Op cit
10	*Vajasaneyi Samhitā*	XXII 22
	Taittiriya Brāhmana	III 8 13 3
	Śatapatha Brāhmana	XIII 1 9 8

No.	Source		Reference
11	*Sānkhyāyana Śrautasutra*		VIII 18 1
12	*Taittırıya Brāhmana*	:	III 8 13 3
13	*Vājasaneyi Samhita*	.	XVI 24
	Taıttırıya Samhıta	.	IV 5 3 2
	Kāṭhaka Samhıtā	:	XVII 13
14	*Taıttırıya Brahmana*	:	III 7 4 6
15	Mukherjı, R K	:	*Hındu Cıvılızatıon* (Bombay, 1950), Ch. V, P 104
16	Ibıd	:	
17	*Aıtareya Brāhmana*	.	I 3 2
18	Ibıd	:	
19	Ibıd	:	
20	*Rk Samhita* Cf sarve nandantı yasasagatena sabhasāhena sakhya sakhayaḥ	:	X 71 10
21	Macdonell & Keıth	:	Op cıt.
22	Jayaswal, K P	:	*Hındu Polıty* (Bangalore, 1967) Part I, Ch III, p 18
23	*Rk Samhıta*		X 191 3
24	Ibıd	:	
25	Apte, V M	:	"Polıtical and Legal Instıtutıons", *The Vedıc Age* (Bombay, 1965) Ch XVIII, pp 356-57
26	*Rāmayana*	:	II 2 1-22
27	Basu, J R	:	*Indıa of the Age of the Brahmanas* (Calcutta, 1969) Book II, Ch III, p 113
28	*Ṛk Samhıtā*	:	IX 92 6
29	*Atharva Samhita*		V 19 15 cf Nasma samıtıḥ kalpate
30	Ibıd, VII 13 1	:	cf sabha ca na samıtıscavatam prajāpaterduhıtarau samvıdane
31	Altekar, A S		*State and Government ın Ancient India* (Delhı, 1958), Ch VII, p 140)
32	Apte, V M	.	Op cıt

KAIYAṬA AND HIS WORK

By

PERI SARVESWARA SHARMA

In the field of Sanskrit grammar, Pānini's work, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is complete with Kātyāyna's *Vārttikas* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* Pānini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali are called *munitraya* of grammar. Among the works of *munitraya*, the *Mahābhāsya* is considered to be the highest authority (*yathottaraṃ munināṃ prāmānyam*)[1]

Kaiyaṭa's *Mahābhāsyapradīpa* is the only extant commentary on the entire *Mahābhāṣya* Nāgesabhaṭṭa's *Mahabhāṣyapradīpoddyota* is a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣyapradīpa* and it is not a direct commentary on the *Mahābhāsya* Kaiyaṭa has earned a great respect for his commentary

Kaiyata's date —Kaiyaṭa has mentioned nowhere in his work when he lived and composed his commentary In one of the introductory verses to his commentary, he simply mentions that his father's name is Jaiyaṭa and his teacher is called Mahesvara[2] Ruyyaka quotes the following verse from Kaiyata's work in his *Alankarasarvasvam "bhāṣyābdhih kvātigambhira" ityādau draṣṭavyam* (See *Alankarasarvasvam*, Kāvyamālā edn 1893, p 202 14-15) This is the first *pāda* of introductory verse No 6 composed by Kaiyata to his commentary[3] Ruyyaka has composed his work *Alankarasarvasvam* between 1135-1150 A D[4]

Again, Mahendrasūri, a direct student of Hemacandra, commenting on Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, has quoted the following introductory verse from Kaiyaṭa's *Pradipa "padavakyapramanānām pāram yatasya dhīmatah"* This is the first half of the introductory verse No 4 composed by Kaiyata to his commentary[5]

1 See Kaiyaṭa s commentary and Bhaṭṭojidikṣita's *Siddhantakaumudi* on 'na bahuvrīhau (Panini i i 29) It is a remarkable thing here that the author of *Kasikavrtti* as well as his two commentators namely Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta have written nothing in this regard They do not talk of *sutrapratyākhyana* (refutation of the sutra namely *na bahuvrihau*) at all

2 *padavākyapramanām pāram ya asya dhimatah/*
guror Mahesvarasyāpi krtvā caranaiandanam //4//
Mahābhāṣyarnavāvaraparinam vivrtiplavam /
yathāgamam vidhāsye ham Kaiyato Jaiyatatmajah //5//

3 *bhāṣyābdhih kvātigambhirah kvaham mandamatis tatah /*
chatranām upal āsyatvam yasyami pisunātmanām //6//

4 See p 285 4 5 History of Sanskrit Poetics by P V Kane third revised edition 1961

5 See Hemacandra s Anekarthasamgraha extracts from the Commentary p 106 19 Bombay 1893

Hemacandra lived between 1088-1172 A.D.; he composed Anekārthasaṃgraha between 1141-1143 A.D. Mahendrasūri was his direct student.[6] Again, Puruṣottamadeva, commenting on "*namah sutī*" (Pāṇini, viii iii.5), refers to Kaiyaṭa directly in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. It is as follows "*atra ca saṃskaroteh Kaiyaṭa Śrutapālayor matabhedāt ṣoḍaśa rūpāṇi granthavistarabhayān na darśitāni /*" Puruṣottamadeva has composed his work at about 1150 A.D.[7] In the light of *external sources given above and putting a limit of 50 years for circulation* of Kaiyaṭa's work in other parts of India, cr 1100 A.D. can be put as the lower limit to Kaiyaṭa's date. Now, coming to *the higher limit to his date, I find it somewhat difficult to put an* exact limit as we lack sufficient material to do so. But one thing is sure Kaiyaṭa lived after Bhartṛhari and the authors of *Kāśikāvṛtti*. We find direct references to them in his work. He quotes more than 100 verses from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* and refers to him directly mentioning his name both in his introductory verses and in his work.[8]

Bhartṛhari lived at about c. 400-500 A.D. Kaiyaṭa also refers to the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and its authors both directly and indirectly. All these are given in Appendix I The Kāśikāvṛtti was composed at about 650. A.D. We also find some indirect references to Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* in Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* (See Appendix II). Jinendrabuddhi's date cannot be later than 750 A.D.[9] If it is so, one can put cr. 800 A.D. or the beginning *of the 9th century as the higher limit to Kaiyaṭa's date* Kaiyaṭa also often speaks of Haradatta indirectly. But on this basis we cannot come to any conclusion because we find also some indirect references to Kaiyaṭa in Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*. *Padamañjarī* is a commentary on the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Therefore it is a complicated problem whether *Kaiyaṭa is posterior or Haradatta. Uptil now most* of the scholars like S.C. Chakravarti,[10] S K. Belvalkar,[11] etc. are

---

6 See "Die Indischen Woerterbuecher (kośa) von Theodor Zachariae" herausgegeben von G Buehler, p 30 54 p 31 21-22, p 34 14, I Band, Helft 3B

7 See p 4 10 of S C Chakravarti's Introduction to Puruṣottamadeva's Bhāṣāvṛtti, ed by him, Rajshahi, 1918

8 "tathāpi haribaddhena sāreṇa granthasetunā /
kramamāṇaḥ śanaiḥ pāraṃ tasya prāptāsmi paṅguvat //7//
(Introductory verse 7)
"*vistarena Vākyapadīye vyavasthāpitaḥ*" commenting on the Mahābhāṣya "*yenoccāritena sāsnālāṅgūlakakudakhuraviṣāṇinām sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ /*" (This portion of the Mahābhāṣya is in the beginning of the *paspaśāhnika*)
"*vistarena Bhartṛhariṇā pradarśita ūhaḥ /*" *(Commenting on the following Mahābhāṣya* "ūhaḥ khalu api " (This is also in the beginning of the *paspaśāhni*

9 See p 38 [illegible] elvalkar, Poona, 1915
See also [illegible] Rajshahi 1913-1916.

10 See p 2 [illegible] by S C. Chakravarti, Rajshahi, [illegible]

11 See pp 39-43, Systems Of Sanskrit Grammar' by S K Belvalkar, Poona, 1915.

of the opinion that Haradatta is posterior to Kaiyaṭa I am of the opinion that Haradatta is prior to Kaiyaṭa To prove this I have certain external evidence which I would like to produce here Dharmakīrti directly refers to Haradatta in his work called *Rūpāvatara* — "*kun sabde — ākūta iti vedalokaprayogadarśanād dīrghānta evāyaṃ Haradattābhimataḥ* /[12]" He has nowhere mentioned Kaiyaṭa directly or indirectly And Maitreyarakṣita refers to Rūpāvatāra in his work called *Dhātupradīpa* "*Rūpāvatāre tu nilope pratyayotpatteh prag eva kṛte saty ekāctvāt yan udāhrtaś cocuryate iti /*" [13]

Now, according to S C Chakravarti, Kaiyaṭa lived at about 1050 A D and Maitreyarakṣita at about 1100 A D and Dharmakīrti, the author of the *Rūpāvatāra* early in the 11th century But he places Haradatta after Kaiyaṭa stating "Again Haradatta often indirectly speaks of Kaiyaṭa and appears to have lived in 1100 A D Haradatta, Maitreyarakṣita and Puruṣottamadeva appear to have been co-eval as no one of them refers to the others"[14] This statement of Chakravarti seems to us to be contradictory Because, Maitreyarakṣita refers to Dharmakīrti and Dharmakīrti again refers to Haradatta as I have shown above When Dharmakīrti might have lived early in the 11th century, say at about 1030 A D or so, then, Haradatta, whom Dharmakīrti refers to by name, must have lived still earlier In that case, how can he be posterior to Kaiyata But one thing is clear to us Here, Prof S C Chakravarti is not to be blamed for this He was not aware of the fact that Haradatta was referred to in the *Rūpāvatāra* Had he known this fact he would not have written like that Other external evidence to prove that Haradatta was prior to Kaiyaṭa is as follows — Bhattojidikṣita makes the following statements in his work *Śabdakaustubha* — "*yat tu ūḍidam* " (p 6 1 171) *iti sūtre Haradattenoktam 'iha "antodāttāt* " (P 6 1 169) *iti anuvṛttisāmarthyat "sav ekācah*' (P 6 1 168) *ity api na pravartate / na ca sav ekāca iti sūtrastha Kaiyataparyālocanayā iṣṭāpttir iti vācyam / anye tu iti vadatā Kaiyatena tanmate 'svarasāviskaranāt / tadbījam tu bahutaravaidikaprayogavirodha eva*" / (Śabdakaustubha Vol II p 279 13 29, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1929) The idea is that Haradatta's statement that by bringing the word *antodatta* from the *sūtra* 6 1 169 by *anuvṛtti* (further application) even the *sūtra sav ekacah* does not apply here in the case of *ūḍidam* cannot be accepted as correct, because Kaiyaṭa commenting on *sav ekācah* has shown his disagreement by using the word *anye tu* (others) The reason for this is that the

12 See p 157 6-7 Part II of *Rupavatara* of Dharmakīrti ed by M B Varadarajiengar Bangalore 1960 24

13 See p 131 6-7 *Dhātupradipa* ed by S C Chakravarti Rajshahi 1919

14 The Kasika Vivarana Panjika Vol I ed by S C Chakravarti Rajshahi Bengal 1913-1916 see Introduction p 22 1ff

opinion of Haradatta goes against many forms used in the *Veda* From this statement of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita it is quite clear that Kaiyaṭa was posterior to Haradatta The *second statement which proves the* priority of Haradatta in the age is as follows — "*canpare nau yad aṅgaṃ tasya yo 'bhyāso laghuparas tasya sanvat laghor dirghas ceti Haradattādibhih puraskṛte Kaiyaṭenaikiyamatenopanyaste vyākhyāne* (See *Śabdakaustubha*, Part II p 337 11-13, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1929)

It means that scholars like Haradatta, etc have forwarded the interpretation of the sūtra of Panini 7 4 93 in the above mentioned way but Kaiyaṭa showing his disagreement with that interpretation uses the word *eke* (others) This statement of Bhaṭṭojidīksita also indicates clearly the priority of Haradatta and posteriority of Kaiyaṭa In the light of this fact the following statement made by S K Belvalkar in his work called "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar" must be treated as false 'According to a portion of *Bhaviṣyottara Purana* giving the history of Haradatta (who is considered as an incarnation of God Śiva) we learn *that he died 3979 years after the* beginning of Kali, which corresponds to 878 A D This account of the Bhaviṣyottara Purana probably does not refer to our Haradatta, seeing that *it gives Vasudeva as the name of Haradatta's father* Moreover, Haradatta's *Padamanjari* seems to be later than and partly based upon Kaiyaṭa's *Mahabhāṣya Pradipa* and we cannot as*sign to* Kaiyaṭa so early a date as cir 800 A D which would be necessary if Haradatta is to be put at 878 Probably, Haradatta belongs to somewhere about 1100 A D "[15]

Now, according to me there is no harm even if we consider the story of Haradatta as given in the *Bhavisyottarapurana* to be true and thus place him in the later part of the 9th century

If it is so, cir 900 A D or the beginning of the 10th century can be put as a higher limit to Kaiyaṭa's date Again, I have found in the *Mahabhasyapradīpa* certain clear indirect references to Hela rāja, a commentator of Bhartṛhari's *Vakyapadiya* (see Appendix III) Helārāja was probably one of the *Gurus* (teachers) of Abhinavagupta, a commentator of Bharata's *Natyasāstra* Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyaloka* etc, *who lived between 980 1020 A D* [16] *If* this is so, cir 1050 to 1100 A D can be put as the higher limit to Kaiyata's date Thus the lower limit and the higher limit come near to each other or it can be said that they become the same I think Kaiyata's exact date has been fixed now

15 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by S K Belvalkar Poona 1915 p 39 18ff and p 40ff

16 *The Kalasamuddesa of Bhartrhari s Vakyapadiya by Peri Sarveswara Sharma* published by Motilal Banarsidass First Edition 1972 Delhi Introduction pp 7 12

APPENDIX I

Kaiyaṭa's Commentary	*Kāśikāvṛtti*
"tad ucyate vṛttikāraih-padāntarasyāprayujyamānasyārthah padārtha iti /" (Commenting on M Bh on 1, 4, 95, p 295 29, M Bh. Part II, Raghunāthaśāstrī's edn 1935)	"padāntarasyāprayujyamānasyārthah padārthah /" (Kāśikā on 1, 4, 95)
"iha vṛttikārā, asaṃjñāgrahanaṃ pratyayāntaviseṣanaṃ, vyācakṣate /" (Commenting on M Bh on 5, 1, 28, p 263 31, M Bh Part IV, ed by Bhārgavasāstrī, 1942)	"pratyayāntasya viśeṣanam asaṃjñāgrahanaṃ na cet pratyayantaṃ saṃjñeti /" (Kāśikā on 5, 1, 28)
' vrttikarair apy uktam — nānāvācinām adhikaranānāṃ kriyāgunābhyāṃ yugapat prayoktur vyāptum icchā vīpseti /" (Commenting on M Bh on 8, 1, 4, p 21 10-11, M Bh 8th adhyāya, ed by Śriguruprasādasastrī, 1938)	"nānāvācinām adhikaranānāṃ kriyāguṇābhyāṃ yugapat prayoktur vyāptum icchā vīpsā /' (Kasikā. on 8, 1, 4)
"tathā ca vrttikārā āhuh — yāṃ kriyāṃ kartā prādhanyenanuparaman karoti tan nityam /" (Commenting on M Bh on 8, 1, 12, p 37 9 10, M Bh 8th adhyāya, ed by Śrīguru 1938)	"yāṃ kriyāṃ kartā prādhānyenānuparaman karoti tan nityam /" (Kāśika on 8, 1, 4)
"kṣubdhā girinadim ivetyadayas tu prayogā asādhava ity ahuh / anye tūpamānena sādhayanti /" (Commenting on M Bh on 7, 2, 18, p 251 21-22, Part I, Ānandāsrama, edn. 1938)	"kṣubhitaṃ manthena, ksubdho girih, nadity evamādy upamānād bhaviṣyati /" (Kāsikā on 7, 2, 18)
"kecit tu, sāmānyapekṣayā jñapakatvāśrayāl lunmātrasya balavattvāśrayanena vyavahāradarśanāl lunmātraṃ bādhakaṃ jñāpyata ity āhuḥ /" (Commenting on M Bh on 7, 2, 98, p 298 9-10, M Bh. Part II, Ānandāśrama edn 1938)	"etad eva tarhy ādesavacanaṃ jñapakam antarangān api vidhin bahirango lug bādhata iti / jñāpakarthe hy etasmin bahutaram iṣṭaṃ saṃgṛhyate /" (Kaśikā on 7, 2, 98)

Kaıyaṭa's Commentary	*Kāsıkāvṛttı*
"anye tu yathātathaśabdayoh sup supetı samāsa etadartha ıty āhuh /" (Commentıng on M Bh on 7, 3, 31, p 337 15, M Bh Part II, Ānanda 1938)	"bhāsye tu yathādarśıtam ayathatathābhāva ıtı tathā sup supetı samāso laksyate /" (Kāsıkā on 7, 3, 31)
"ke cıt tu pañca brāhmanya ıtyādau "*na ṣaṭsvasrādıbhya*" ıtı tāppratısedhāya ṣaṭsaṃjñāyām nalopasyasıddhatvam ucyata ıty ahuh /" (Commentıng on M Bh on 8, 2, 2, p 481 19 20, M Bh 8th adhyāya, ed by Śrīguru 1938)	"pañca brāhmaṇyo daśa brāhmanya *ıtı nalopasyāsıddhatvāt ṣṇāntā* ṣaḍ ıtı ṣaṭsaṃjñā bhavatı / tataś ca na ṣatsvasradıbhya ıtı ṭapah pratıṣedho bhavatı /' (Kāsıkā. on 8, 2, 2)
"atrāhuh —yatra dvav apı nımıttanımıttınau samānapadasthatvaṃ vyabhıcaratas tatra natvābhāvah / ıha tu rephasya vyabhıcāre 'pı nakārasya samānapadasthatvāvyabhıcārān natvaṃ pravartate /" (Commentıng on M Bh on 8, 4, 3, p 215 22, p 216 19-20, *M Bh 8th* adhyaya ed by Śrīguru 1938)	"samāsapade 'pı hı samānapade nımıttanımıttınor bhāvād astı pūrvena praptır ıtı / sa ca nıyamah purvapadasaṃbandhād uttarapadasthasyaıva ṇatvaṃ nıvartayatı carmanāsıka ıtı, na taddhıtapurvapadasthasya / kharapāyanah /" (Kāsıkā on 8, 4, 3)

Kaiyaṭa's Commentary	*Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa*
"saṃyogāntalopo na syād, iti ke cid āhuh/" (Commenting on M Bh on 6, 3, 68, p 252. 5-6, M Bh Part V, ed by Bhārgava, 1945)	"tadāsrayane tu saṃyogāntalopo na syāt /" (kāśikāvivaranapañjikā on Kāsikāvṛtti on 6, 3, 68, p 464 · 7, kāśikāvivarana ed by S G C Chakravarti 1919)
[illegible] tadantata gṛhyata iti manyamānā matupo grahanaṃ vyācakṣate /" (Commenting on M Bh on 6, 4, 14, p 280 7-9r, M Bh. Part V, ed by Bhārgava 1945)	"antagrahane ca saty antagraha nasāmarthyād atvantamātragrahane vijñāyamāne yo hy upadeśe prayogaikadeśabhūtas tasyāpi grahanaṃ bhavatity upapadyate matupo grahanam /" (Kāsikāvivarana on Kāsikā on 6, 4, 14, p 513 13-15, Kāsikāvivarana Part II, ed by S C Chakravarti, 1919)
"anye tv āhuh — svāsrayam api yathā syād ity evamartham vatkaranam /" (Commenting on M Bh on 6, 4, 22, p 285 25, M. Bh Part V, ed by Bhārgava 1945)	"tat kriyate kva cit svāsrayam api siddhaṃ yathā syād iti /" (Kāśikavivarana on Kāsikā on 6 4, 22, p 525 2, Kāsikāvivarana ed by S C Chakravarti, 1919)
"ke cit tu — yogavibhāgeneṣṭasiddhim āhuh / gameh sakārād iḍ bhavatiy eko yogah / tatah parasmaipadeṣv iti dvitīyo yogo niyamārthah / tulyajātiyapekṣatvāc ca niyamasyātmanepadaviṣaya even nivartyata iti krti parasmaipadaluki caḍ bhavaty eva, jigamiṣitum, jigamisitavyam, jigamiṣatvam iti /" (Commenting on M Bh on 7, 2, 58, p 275 15-18, M Bh Part II, ānanda edn 1938)	'yogavibhāgah kartavyah / gamer iḍ ity eko yogah / tatra sa ity anuvartate / sakāradav ārdhadhātuke gamer iḍagamo bhavati / tatah parasmaipadesv iti dvitiyo yogo niyamārthah / sa cayaṃ niyamo yady avisesena syat tadā purvayogo 'narthakah syāt / tasmāt tulyajatiyapeksaya niyamah / tulyajātiyas ca tin / tinviṣaye yadi bhavati tada parasmaipadeṣv eva / nātmanepadeṣv iti / tena kṛti parasmaipadaluki ca pūrvayogena bhavaty eva / niyamenavyāvartitatvād iti /" (Kāsikāvivaran on (Kasikā on 7, 2, 58, p 734 9-14, Kasikāvivarana ed by S C Chakravarti, 1925)
"ke cit tu vyācakṣate — yady ādeśāntarāṇāṃ tvamau bādhakau syatāṃ tadā maparyantagrahanānuvṛttim antarenotsargasamānadesatvād apavadānāṃ	"yadi cādeśantaranāṃ bādha- [illegible]

Kaiyata's Commentary	*Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa*
maparyantasya tvamau siddhāv iti kim tadanuvrttyā / anuvrttyā tu jñāpyate prāg eva luki krte vibhaktyabhāvād asatsv ādeśāntareṣu tvamau vidhīyeta iti / tad ayuktam /" (Commenting on M Bh on 7, 2, 98, p 298 12-15, M Bh Part II, ānanda edn 1938)	maparyantasyaiva prayuktāni / nānyasya / tataś cāntareṇāpi maparyantagrahaṇānuvrttim utsargasamānadesatvad apavādānāṃ maparyantasyaiva bhavisyata iti kim maparyantasyety anuvartanena / ādeśāntarānāṃ abādhanārthe hy etasmin sarvādeśanivrttyarthaṃ maparyantagrahanam anuvartayitum yuktam / tasmād etasmān maparyantagrahanānuvartanān nādeśāntarabādhanam asya prayojanam / ato jñāpakaṃ vijñāyate /" (Kāsikāvivarana on Kāsikā on 7, 2, 98, p 759 2-8, Kāsikāvivarana Part III, ed by S C Chakravarti, 1925)
"dīrghoccārane bhāsyakārena pratyākhyāte ke cit praśleṣanirdesena dvitīya ikāro "ye ca vibhāṣety" ātvasya pakṣe paratvāt prāptasya bādhanārtham ity ahuh / tad ayuktam /" (Commenting on M Bh on 3, 1, 111, p 146 10-13, M Bh Part III, ed by Raghu 1937)	"dvayor ikārayoh praśleṣanirdeśah / tatra yo dvitiya ivarnah sa ye cety āttvabādhā yathā syād ity evam arthah" (Kāsikāvivarana on Kāsikā on 3, 1, 111, p 573 2-3, Kasikāvivarana. Part I, ed by S C Chakravarti, 1916)
' ke cit tu — anityam āgamasāsanam ity asya jñāpakaṃ vāgrahanam varṇayanti / anityatvāt tasyā hy asati dadād iti na syad iti tatsiddhaye vāgrahanaṃ kriyamānam enāṃ paribhāṣaṃ jñāpayati /" (Commenting on M Bh on 7, 3, 70, p 375 15-17, M Bh Part II, ānanda, edn 1938)	"anityatā punar āgamasāsanasya gher lopo leṭi vā (7, 3, 70) ity atra vagrahanāl lingād vijñāyate / tad dhi dadat, dadād ity atra nityaṃ gher lopo mā bhūd ity evamarthaṃ kriyate /" (Kāśikāvivarana on Kāśikā on 7, 1, 1, p 615 4-6, Kāsikāvivarana Part III, ed by S C Chakravarti 1925)

Kaiyaṭa's commentary	*Helārāja's commentary on the Vākyapadīya*
anye tv āhuh — mīyate 'nayeti mātrā saṃkhyocyate / samāhāradvandve napuṃsakatvāc ca hrasvatvaṃ kṛtam / tenābhihitāyām api saṃkhyāyāṃ prathamā bhavati /" (Commenting on M Bh on 2, 3, 46, p 515 24-27r, Part II, M. Bh ed by Raghu 1935)	"mīyate 'nayeti mātrā saṃkhyā / tasyāh samāhāradvandvena nirdeśah tatra saṃkhyāyām abhihitāyām ekādibhyo yathā syād iti mātragrahaṇasya prayojanaṃ vacanagrahaṇenaiva siddham iti anyatarac chakyam akartum ity uktaṃ bhāṣye /" (Commenting on Vāk 3, 7, 163, p 366 24, p 367. 1-2, Poona edn 1963)
"devadatta pac l iti sthite yāvat tina utpattir nāsti tāvat tinsāmānādhikaranyābhavāt prathamaiveti niyamābhāvād devadattaśabdād aviśesavihitāh sarve svādayah sthitā iti laṭah sthāne dvitiyādyantapadasāmānādhikaraṇye vidhiyamānau śatṛśānacau prāpnuto na tu tinah / teṣām tu lanādir avakāsas tadviṣaya eva ca prathamāyā api karmaṇi dvitīyaivety arthaniyame dvitiyādinām atra sadbhāva iti *manyante* /" (Commenting on M Bh on 2, 3, 46, p 517 23-29, M Bh Part II, ed by Raghu 1935)	"iha vibhajyānvākhyānapakṣe devadatta pac l iti sthite yāvat tina utpattir nāsti tāvat tinsamānādhikaranatvābhāvāt prathamā na prāpnoti / tathā ca devadattaśabdad aviśeṣavihitāh sarve svādayah sthitā iti laṭah sthāne dvitīyādyantapadasāmānādhikaranye vidhīyamānau śatṛśānacau prāpnuto 'pavādabhūtau, na tu tinah / tesāṃ tu liḍadir avakaso bhavet / sa eva ca prathamayā apīti pacati devadatta iti laṭsamanādhikaraṇah prayogah prathamānto na syāt /" (Commenting on Vāk. 3, 7, 163, p 364 7-12, Poona edn 1963)
anye tv āhuh — anirdhāritavisesadharmanibandhanā kutsā kutsitaśabdapravṛttinimittaṃ, brahmahatyadiviśesanibandhanā kutsā tu pratyayanibandhanam /" (Commenting on B Bh on 5, 3, 74, p 397 25 27r, M Bh Part IV, ed by Bhārgava 1942)	"tathā cānirdhāritadharmaviśeṣanibandhanakutsa kutsitasabdapravṛttinimittaṃ, brahmahatyādiviśesanibandhanā tu kapratyayahetur iti viseṣah /' (Commenting on Vāk 3, 14, 4, p 3 22-24, Trivandram edn 1942)
[illegible] rasāh sarve madhuny avibhāgenāvasthita evam upasarjanārthe saṃkhyaviśeṣāh /" (Commenting on M Bh on 6 3, 1, p 213 6 8r, M Bh Part V, ed by Bhārgava. 1945)[1]	"tathaiva yathānimittaṃ saṃkhyābhedāvasāyād upasar- [illegible] (Commenting on Vak. 3, 14, 100, p 53 25 27, Trivandram edn 1942)

[1] Here Kaiyaṭa using the words "yathauṣadhirasāḥ sarve definitely referred to Helarāja alone as the Karika on which Helarāja commented begins with "yathauṣadhirasaḥ sarve' (vak 3 14 100 Triv edn 1942)

THE DATE OF BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

By

JAWAHAR LAL SHARMA

Bhāgavata Purāna is the most popular among all the Purānas, but the problem of determining its date yet remains a complicated one

On the one hand scholars like V R R Dikshitar[1] have persisted in proving it a work of remote antiquity of 3rd cen. A D, and on the other Macdonell[2], Burnouff[3], and Wilson[4], etc have gone to the other extreme, placing it in the 13th cen A D by attributing its authorship to Bopadeva Thus a fresh appraisal of the date of Bhāgavata Purana becomes necessary

Going into the details of internal and external evidences of Bhāgavata Purāna it becomes fairly certain that it is a work of 6th cen A D It is a work of an age when the tradition of *devotiona lism* had been well established and had reached its culmination The contribution of the Alwar saints[5] of the South, 'Bhagavad viṣaya' or the traditionally called 'Tamil veda' served as a strong and vital background to it Bhagavata Purāna is a work of the Tamil country[6] The geographical data furnished in the Purāna and the fact it describes the south as a land of sanctity and holiness[7], prove the above statement The Purāna is of the same age as that of the Alwars

It is apparent from the study of Bhagavata Purāṇa that it is a work of an age when peace and prosperity prevailed everywhere and the renaissance of Hindu religion had reached its culmination through *theistic devotionalism* That is why even Śankara, though not emphasising devotionalism in his theoretical expositions, could not remain uninfluenced by it (Bhakti), as is evident from his various stotras

1 Purāna Index Vol. I pp. xviii-xxx.
2 Macdonell History of Sanskrit Literature pp 253-254
3 Introduction of Bh. P ed Burnouff
4 See Winternitz. History of Indian Literature (Eng Trans) Vol I p 555
5 (i) R Mukherjee The Lord of the Autumn Moons pp 65-66
(ii) J N Farquhar Outline of the Religious Literature of India p 233.
6 (i) K A Nilakanta Sastri History of South India p 342.
(ii) T J Hopkin s article 'The Social Teachings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa' 'Krishna Myths Rites & Attitudes ed M Singer p 5
(iii) J N Farquhar opp cited
7 Bh P 11 5 39 11 25 39-40

The tradition of Hindu renaissance too, like the old Vedic religion, was based on three phases of Upāsanā, Karma and Jñāna Upāsanā is to be found in the Samhitās, the ritual performances in the Brāhmanas, and the Jñāna in the Upaniṣads All these three phases can be visualised in this age of renaissance too First is sown the tradition of devotionalism among Alwars, which fructified in the nectar-like work Bhāgavata Purāna Then came a Mīmāmsaka of great eminence like Kumārila in the tradition of Karma and finally an unparalled talent like Śankara in the tradition of Jñāna

In no way can any date earlier than 500 A D be assigned to Bhāgavata Purāna, which deals with the biography of Kṛṣna in much more details than the Viṣnu and Harivamśa Purānas dated 400 A D[8] All the scholars are unanimous on Bhāgavata Purāṇa's being a later work than the Viṣnu and Harivamśa[9]

Dikshitar's assertion[10] of placing it in the 3rd cen A D seems quite paradoxical His supposition of the Guptas' bearing the title of 'Parama bhāgavata' is not an evidence strong enough to prove Bhāgavata Purāṇa being pre-existent and the formers' adhering to the title not on the basis of Bhāgavata religion, which was patronised by that dynasty, but the sacred book Bhāgavata Purāna His other arguments too viz the propitiation of Varāha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu being given prominence by the Guptas and the Bhāgavata Purāna as well, certainly lead us to no definite conclusion The same way presuming that Bhāgavata Purāna was composed after the disappearance of 'Sankaraṣana cult' which was prevalent from 6th cen B C to the 3rd cen A D , and Vāsudeva-worship being prominent in Bhāgavata Purāṇa, also gains no ground as the 'Sankarṣaṇa-vyūha' is a very antique doctrine of the Pañcarātras and the Bhāgavatas both, and it has been mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāna[11] too

Inclusion of Buddha and Ṛṣabhadeva[12] the Jain Tīrthankara, in the list of the incarnations of Viṣnu in Bhāgavata Purāna, also leads us to conjecture that it had been a work of an age when these two hetrodox religions were not completely swept away from India Kumārila the renowned Mīmāmsaka of his time has criticised this attitude of the Purānas in his commentary on Jaimini Sūtra[13] This clearly indicates Bhāgavata Purana's being earlier than Kumārila,

8 R C Hazra Puranics Records on Hindu Rites & Customs, p 55 Winternitz History of Indian Literature Vol. I p. 557
9 Ibid Macdonell History of Sanskrit Literature p. 253 254
10 V R R. Dikshitar Purana Index, Vol. I pp xxviii-xxx
11 Bh. P 3 26 21 28.
12 Bh P 1 3 24 1 3 13 2 7 10
13 'Smaryante ca purāṇeṣu dharma-viplava hetavaḥ
lalau sakyadayas-tesam ko vakyam srotum-arhati'
Kumarila's comm on Jaimini Sūtra 1 3 1

otherwise to do away with the criticism launched by the former, the latter would have certainly ignored Buddha and Ṛṣabha Thus Bhāgavata Purāna precedes Kumārila, who was an older contem porary to Śankara

According to B N K. Sharma[14] and Baladeva Upadhyaya[15] Bhāgavata Purāṇa precedes Gauḍapāda Baladeva Upadhyaya points out the following śloka of Bhāgavata Purāna quoted in the Uttara gītā bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda —

> *Śreyah śrutım bhaktım-udasya te vıbho,*
> *klıśyantı ye kevala-bodha labdhaye*
> *Teṣām-asau kleśala eva śıṣyate,*
> *nānyad yathā sthūla-tuṣāvaghātınām* Bh P 10 14 4

Besides ıt, Gauḍapāda has quoted another śloka 'Jagrahe pauruṣam rūpam' (Bh P 1 3 1) in his 'Pañcıkarana-cyākhyana'[16] Thus obvıously Bhāgavata Purāṇa belongs to a date earlıer than that of Gauḍapāda ı e 7th cen A D Yet we need certaın more evıdences as the authenticıty of Gauḍapāda's Uttara gītā bhāṣya is not accepted by many scholars

Dr R C Hazra too has placed ıt ın the 6th cen A D[17] on two grounds — (ı) 'The Bhāgavata is earlıer than the Vıshnuıte Kurma P whıch was unlıke the Bhāgavata much ınfluenced by Śakta ıdeas The date of Vıshnuıte Kūrma P ıs to be placed between 550 and 650 A D '[17] and (ıı) ın 'Bhāgavata Purana the bıography of Kṛṣṇa ıs ın much greater details than ın Vıṣṇu P and Harıvamsa also The latter beıng dated about 400 A D , the Bhagavata cannot possıbly be earlıer than about 500 A D Thus the date of Bhāgavata falls ın the sıxth century A D '[18]

The hıstorıcal reference to the Hunas adoptıng Bhāgavata relıgıon ın Bhāgavata Purāna,[19] as poınted out by Dr S Bhattacharya[20] proves ıt a work of Gupta perıod possıbly not earlıer than A D 500

The culture as depicted ın Bhagavata Puraṇa too ındıcates ıt to be a work of Gupta perıod But there follows a question why the Gupta dynasty has not been mentıoned ın the dynastıc lıst of Kalı era ın Bhagavata Purana Baladeva Upadhyaya[21] ıs of the opınıon

14 Gauḍapada havıng flourıshed ın the 7th century A D ıt follows that Bhagavata was much earlıer than thıs date' ABORI Vol XIV p 216
15 Baladeva Upadhyaya Purana Vımarśa pp 547 548
16 Ibıd
17 Hıstory & Culture of Indıan People (Classıcal Age) p 259
17a Puranıc Record on Hındu Rites & Customs p 55
18 Ibıd
19 Bh P 2 4 18
20 S Bhattacharya The Phılosophy of Srīmad Bhagavata Vol I p xı ı
21 Puraṇa Vımarsa pp 336 397

that the Guptas were not deemed worthy of being given any importance by the composers of the Purānas This view is but not appealing, as Guptas played a very vital role in the propagation of the Bhāgavata religion However some scholars[22] have tried to prove a reference to the Guptas in the following verse of Bhāgavata Purāna —

Anugangām-āprayāgām guptām bhokshyate mahīm[23]

Whereas the word 'guptām' in the above verse is used as an adjective of 'Mahīm', and in no way it points at the Gupta dynasty No mention of Guptas in Bhāgavata Purāna is certainly a very significant question, as even the patronisers of hetrodox religions like Nandas and Mauryas have been mentioned in it[24] The only convincing solution, therefore, may be that Bhāgavata Purāna was composed during the Gupta period As already mentioned religion and society depicted in Bhāgavata Purana is undoubtedly the religion and society of Gupta period It would be quite humiliating the Guptas, should there have been a passing note on Gupta emperors And mention of any individual Gupta emperor would not have been in tune with the temperament and nature of the Puranas Thus Bhagavata Purāna belongs to an era when the Gupta dynasty had not become the subject of History but it was contemporary to it

It would not be undesirable to quote certain more evidences to prove Bhāgavata Puranā a work earlier than Śankara On the basis of the following verse of Śankara in his 'Prabodha sudhakara' Baladeva Upadhyaya[25] proves the indebtedness of Śankara to Bhāgavata —

'Ka api ca kṛṣṇāyanti kasyā-scit putanayantyah
apibat stanam iti sākṣhad-vyāso nārayanah prāha'—Sankara
'Kasya scit pūtanāyantyāh kṛṣnayantyapibat stanam'
—Bhāgavata

Reference of 'Vyuha' principle in the Brahma sutra-commentary by Śankara[26] also suggest Bhagavata Purāna as pre existent Though the word 'Bhāgavatāh' in the Śankara s Commentary indicates the sect and not the book, the principle mentioned therein is the same as mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāna The 'Vyūha' doctrine mentioned by Śankara is entirely different from that of 'Pañcarātras'[27] It is but the same doctrine as mentioned in Bhāgavata

22 'Some Notes & Observations on the Puranic Accounts of the Imperial Guptas article by S N Roy in Purana Bulletin Vol XII No 2 pp 265
23 Bh. P 12 1 37
24 Bh P 12 1.
25 Puraṇa Vimarsa pp 118-119
26 Brahma-sūtra Śānkara-bhāṣya 2 2 42 45
27 Ahirbudhnya Samhitā 5 7-60

Purāṇa.[28] This evidence, therefore, clearly indicates Bhāgavata Purāṇa as preceding to Śaṅkara.

Keeping the above mentioned evidences in mind, it is not unconvincing to conclude that Bhāgavata Purāṇa is a work of an earlier age than that of Śaṅkara and Kumārila, and its date falls in the 6th cen A.D. However amendations and interpolations were made in it later on many a time,[29] and those too were made with such a skill and care that now it is very difficult to detect them

28 Bh P 3 26 21-28.
29 H P. Sastri 'The Purānas', JBORS, Part III

BHĀSA – A JVALANA-MITRA

By

PRAVIN V MEHTA

Rājaśekhara in his 'Sūktimuktāvali' says भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकै क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् । स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावक । In the commentary of Jonārāja on the 'पृथ्वीराज' there is a passage दीप्तानि वह्नेरपि मानसानि भासस्य काव्य खलु विष्णुधर्मान् ॥ etc.
Thus we find that Bhāsa is associated with Fire by the above authors But the more striking reference to Bhāsa's connection with fire is found in Vākpatirāja who flourished in the 8th century In his 'Gaudvaho' (verse 800) he has termed Bhāsa as जलणमित्त (भासे ज्वलनमित्रे कुन्तीदेवे च यस्य रघुकारे। सौबन्धवे च बन्धे च हारीचद्र च आनन्द ॥ an epithet extremely appropriate for the plays of Bhāsa It is singularly attributed to Bhāsa and there is no author to whom this epithet is applied From the context of this epithet it is known why Vākpatirāja has called him a 'Friend of Fire'

Many scholars have written voluminous works on this celebrated poet of Sanskrit literature, but none of them has so far pursued the matter to find out the real purpose behind this appellation Since some have referred to this appellation, we shall first consider their views and then try to arrive at the importance of this epithet given to our author

The following are the plausible interpretations given for the word 'Jvalana-mitra'

i There might be a person 'Jvalana' by name, a contemporary and friend of Bhāsa and he might be so well reputed that Vākpati might have been inclined to give the above epithet But this interpretation can hardly be said to be convincing as nothing is reliably known about Jvalana

ii Prof A. B Keith and Dr Pusalkar are of the opinion that since the Lāvāṇaka fire is introduced in the play 'Svapnavāsavadattam,' our poet is termed a 'friend of fire' "The play itself contains a fire, which was feigned by the minister to permit the possibility of the king's new marriage, and it is only appropriate that, as that fire could not burn the queen so the fire which tried the play was unable to

prevail against it The passage throws the necessary light on the term friend of fire of Vākpati........" (Prof A. B. Keith) To quote Dr. Pusalkar also, "the mention & description of conflagration........ ..are sufficient, it is to justify the epithet." But this view is not tenable Why should we at all call him a 'friend of fire' only on the ground that he brings about a conflagration scene in one of his plays? In Act IV of 'Ratnāvalī,' we find that Harṣa has introduced a similar scene. It is a mere assumption of Prof Lévi that Harṣa is indebted to Bhāsa for this scene. The credit for the conflagration-motive lies neither with Harṣa, nor with Bhāsa, but with 'Bṛhat-Kathā." The episode is taken bodily out of 'Kathāsarit-Sāgara', Chapter XVI. As observed by Albert Baston & M. Susali, differences of *scenes are of trifling importance and they do not entitle* either to be called a 'friend of fire' Hence, the second view based on forest-conflagration does not hold much water.

iii It is submitted that Bhāsa has frequently referred to fire in his plays After carefully going through all the plays the references to Fire can be conveniently classified under the following five heads

(*a*) *Indirect Mention* – *	Pratimā V/15b, UruI/14a, 1/52/1, Pañcarātra III/8C
(*b*) *Direct Mention* —	D V I/32b, Pratijñā III/2/75, IV/16/1, Uru I/47a, Bāla, II/3b, D G. I/22C, I/30d, Abhi VI/ 22/4, VI/24b, 25b, & 26b, Avi IV/ 4b, & 5a, IV 6/IV/8/1 IV/15d VI/14/4 & 5 Svapna I/16b I/12/28, 34 & 37 IV/IC, VI/11/10, VI/13b, Pañca I/17C
(*c*) *As a standard of Comparison*	Pratimā VI/5a, D V I/11c & 52b Pratijñā IV 11a, M V I/2/2 I/6c, 8c, 16b, 50/1, Uru I/6b, 4c, 17a, 43b, 56d, Bal II/24d, IV/3a, & 4d, D G I/6b, 24b 36/11, Abhi I/13d II/1/15, III/8b IV/5 cd, VI /la, 17b, KB)1/10, Avi, VI/9 b and Svapna V/—/34

* The references are to Poona Oriental series edition of Bhasa-nāṭakacakram edited by Prof C R Devadhar (1962)

(d) *Mention of fire as a god*	DG 1/23d, Abhi VI /26/1, & 2, Entry of Agni from VI/26/4 Upto the end Avi, IV/12/28, 15/1 & 2 VI/ 4/37, 38 & 39, 24/29.
(e) *Sacrificial Fire —*	MV I/52b, Pañch I/4a, 5/2, 6b, 79, 9b & d, 10a 11a, 13c, 14a 14/1 15 a & 16a

Dr A Banerji Sastri (JRAS 1921/p 379) & Prof Ghatak (SDL 12/pp 17 & 18) have given an almost complete list of references from the plays wherever the term occurs They have arrived at the conclusion that 'Jvalana-Mitratva' is not simply because of Lāvānaka conflagration being introduced into the plot of Vāsavadattā but because of the poet's excess of zeal for introducing fire scenes, or talks or imageries about fire

We agree that Bhāsa introduces fire not in any allegorical form, but as the god of fire itself at very possible opportunity with the direct references to Fire in 12 out of 13 plays and that he not only introduces Fire but often calls him by the very name with which he is associated in the verse quoted above

But this view seems to be of not such a major importance so that Vākpatirāja should term him as a 'friend of fire' We find similar references to Fire in the plays of other authors too Of course the difference is of degree but that can be attributed to the numerical strength of the plays of our author Manifold references to Fire do not prove, but only corroborate his 'Jvalana-mitratva'

(iv) Now let us see the various purposes for which Bhāsa has utilised Fire in his plays If we examine some of his plays, we find that fire is playing a pivotal role in them

(a) We perhaps, do not find that any Sanskrit playwrights has ever brought any god in a human form on the stage, but Bhāsa has done it and done it purposefully in his 'Abhiṣeka' In that play, Rāma wants to accept Sitā only if she is purified by Fire, otherwise she would be रजनिचरावमर्शजातकल्मषा इक्ष्वाकुकुलस्याङ्कभूता । VI । २१ । १ (sullied by contact with the demon and has become a stain on Ikṣvākus house) Now we know on the authority of Rāmāyana that Sitā was purified by Fire when she mounted the pyre Bhāsa would have contended by making this announcement either from नेपथ्य or आकाशभाषितम् But, nay, he wants to bring a better effect by bringing the actual Fire-god on the stage, so that not only there should be conviction of the world, (प्रत्ययार्थं हि लोकानाम्) but also for the conviction of the audience Can anybody doubt the testimonial

of Fire-god himself? Bhāsa knows that Indians consider Fire as one of the most sacred elements on this earth And he has relied upon this and brought Fire-god on the stage Moreover, Sītā is not an ordinary woman, but the goddess of wealth in the human form as a daughter of Janaka cf

इमां भगवतीं लक्ष्मीं जानीहि जनकात्मजाम् ।
सा भवन्तमनुप्राप्ता मानुषीं तनुमास्थिता ॥

Hence it is but proper that the Fire god himself should be there to vouchsafe the purity of Sitā Secondly in 'Avimāraka,' he goes to the extent of calling Avimāraka, the hero as the son of Fire-god who does not burn him even though the hero wants to die in fire If he were burnt by fire, people would condemn Fire for killing his own son and lose faith in him

(b) Let us now turn to his highly-acclaimed play, 'Svapna Vāsavadattam' Here, the Lāvāṇaka-fire is the starting point of the play Of course, as seen above, fire-episode is bodily taken from 'Bṛhat kathā', but Bhāsa makes capital of it Though, political motive is at the back of his mind, we notice that Fire is the major instrument in the hands of Bhāsa to succeed in his plan We find that the Lāvānaka fire haunts the mind of Udayana from the beginning up to almost the end of the play लावाणकेन हुतवहेन हृताङ्गयष्टि । V/IC & इद मुखमाधुर्यं कथ दूषितमग्निना । VI / 13b In his lamentations, in the Acts IV & V we notice that Udayana has never forgotten that scene and though away from the scene when the actual fire broke out at Lāvānaka, he seems to be creating mental picture wherein his wife is supposed to be consumed by fire Moreover, Udayana on hearing the news, wants to commit suicide by throwing his life in that very fire (तस्मिन्नेवाग्नौ प्राणान्परित्यक्तुकाम) । (I/12, 37) and not by any other means This creates better effect on the mind of audience Yaugandharāyaṇa takes advantage of the sudden outbreak of this fire at Lāvanaka in separating Udayana from Vasavadatta and facilitates his plan of uniting Udayana with Padmāvati, which ultimately is helpful in Udayana's regaining his lost kingdom

Thus it will be seen what important place Bhasa is giving to Fire in his present play

(c) When we turn to 'Pañcaratra, we find a detailed description of the sacrificial fire Paṇḍavās performed Rājasūya sacrifice So Duryodhana became jealous of them and so he performs another sacrifice Now this sacrifice of Duryodhana is the major invention of Bhāsa, which is directly connected with the main purpose of the plot of the play Now let us first look at the length to which he is

describing this sacrificial fire This is quite a lengthy description of fire ever to be found in Sanskrit plays This is an elaborate and picturesque description by three Brahmins of Duryodhan's prosperous sacrifice (अहो कुरुराजस्य यज्ञसमृद्धि । I/2/4) There are vivid and concrete details of the atmosphere and the progress of the sacrificial fire In the end, the fire is described to be pacified This sacrifice served as the starting point of the plot and in this situation, we find the thematic origin of the play This fully suggests the future development of the theme and of the dramatic action This sacrifice removes the central cause of the family feud and thus brings mutual happiness It is not only a matter of novel interpretation but is also a case of poetic justice as probable conceived by Bhāsa From this it will be clear that sacrifice is not a matter of casual reference to Bhāsa, but he dwells upon it in detail for the development of this present play

Bhāsa is taking advantage of general esteem in which sacrifice was held by the people in his time He gives the Fire the prime importance in this play Not only he does not stop here by mentioning the actual sacrificial fire but he goes to the extent of bringing sacrificial fire or something connected with it, such as fire sticks etc in his figures of speech (e g हिडिंबारणिसभूतो राक्षसाग्नि । MVI/2/2, हुतवहदीप्तो । MVI/6c रणसत्र प्राणाग्निहोमत्रतुम । Uru I/4c पचाना पांडवाना ग्नीनात्मा केने धीकृत । DGI/6b पुत्रशोकसमुत्थितोऽग्निर्न दहत्प्राणमय हविरिति DGI/36/1)

(d) The age-old customs of chaste women burning themselves into fire after the death of their husbands is also referred to by Bhāsa in his Urubhanga There Pauravi says "I am bent on the resolve of entering (fire)' (एककृतनिश्चया न रोदिमि/I52/1) Thus he does not lose sight of this aspect of Fire in the Indian society

(e) Fire has been always associated by the Indians with the institution of marriage as a witness And Bhāsa has brought the nuptial fire in three of his plays, viz Pratijñā IV/16/1 Svapna VI/II/10 and Avi VI/14/4 and 5 (अग्निसाक्षिकम्)

(f) It seems that in his plays there might be some sanctuaries of the fire god and Bhāsa does not hesitate to mention it in his Pratijnā III/2/85 (इदमग्निगृहम)

(g) From the examples cited earlier at (3c) as to the classification under the head Fire as a standard of comparison it appears that, in Bhāsa, the metaphors, such as [तत्कुलस्यास्य वैराग्निर्बलिष्वपि न शाम्यति । D G I/24b are more than the similes

(h) Some of his similes or metaphor, are very aptly put in the mouth of the characters Thus अङ्गारमध्यपतितमिव । (Cha I/8d)

coming from Śakāra, रणसत्रप्राणाग्निहोमक्रतुम् । (I/4c) coming from a soldier and, अभिपतति कुतो नु राक्षसोऽसौ शलभ इवाशु हुताशन प्रवेष्टुम् । (Abhi IV/5c & d) coming from Sugrīva, are most appropriate

Thus references to Fire in Bhāsa are not only casual and many in number, but they indicate the importance that he wants to confer on Fire The purpose of introducing Fire, as shown above, is also manifold On the basis of all these the title Jvalana-mitra conferred on him appears to have more than one significance

ABHINAVAGUPTA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RASA-THEORY*

By

V M KULKARNI

Rasa forms the most original and the greatest contribution of Sanskrit poetics to the subject of literary criticism *Rasa* is the very 'soul', the essence of drama (and by extension of poetry) It is the aim of every dramatic performance to evoke the *rasa* in the mind of the audience Bharata remarks that "without *rasa* nothing proceeds (from the pen of a playwright or a poet)" In other words, whatever a playwright depicts — be it an incident, event, a situation, a song, a dialogue — it is intended primarily to contribute to the development of *rasa* From this remark it is evident that Bharata considered *rasa* to be the most important element in the drama This remark is followed by the famous *rasa-sūtra* "*Rasa* arises from a combination or union of the *vibhāvas*, the '*anubhāvas* and the *vyabhicāribhāvas*" [1] It is the source of the latter theories of *rasa* set forth by Lollaṭa, Śankuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavagupta Unfortunately the commentaries or books in which the views of the first three commentators or thinkers appeared have been irretrievably lost and we have to depend entirely on Abhinavagupta's presentation of their views in his *Locana* and *Abhinavabhāratī*, the two famous commentaries on *Dhvanyāloka* and *Nāṭyaśāstra* respectively In Lollaṭa's view, the permanent/dominant emotion itself, when intensified or developed by the *vibhāvas* etc, becomes the *rasa* Its locus is first of all the hero of the play The *rasa* is subsequently attributed to the actor who plays the rôle of the character (by imitating him in form, dress, and action) Śankuka, however, refutes this view and interprets the manifestation of *rasa* as a process of inference The permanent emotion is inferred to exist in the actor playing the role of the character, though not really present in him by means of the *anubhāvas*, skilfully exhibited in his acting This permanent emotion thus inferred, is but a reflex (*anukara*) of the real permanent emotion of the character in the drama, and because it is a reflex, it is called by a different name, viz, *rasa* The emotions by their very nature, are endowed with exquisite beauty and are, therefore, a source of charm

* Paper read at the Seminar on Rasa-theory held on 19-3-1978 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

1 न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते । तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

—Naṭyaśāstra VI v 31 — v 32

and pleasure when inferred Bhaṭṭanāyaka denies that *rasa* is produced or that it is perceived or that it is suggested He ascribes to a play (or a poem) three powers or functions *abhidhā* (denotation), *bhāvanā* or *bhāvaktva* (universalization) and *bhojakatva* or *bhoga* (enjoyment). *Abhidhā* deals with what is expressed *bhāvanā* relates to the *rasa* and *bhojakatva* to the audience It is Bhaṭṭanāyaka who for the first time compares the enjoyment of *rasa* with the enjoyment of bliss arising out of meditation on the absolute (*para-brahmāsvāda*) The power of *abhidhā* is universally accepted But the other two powers (ascribed to a play or poem) have no legitimate foundation

After presenting these different views and refuting them Abhinavagupta sets out to enunciate his own view At the outset, however, he frankly speaks of "the ladders of thought constructed by earlier writers" and acknowledges his indebtedness to his predecessors Further he observes "Therefore I have not found fault with the theories of other good men I have only refined on them"[2] In the course of his exposition of the nature of *rasa* he is prepared to accept the view of *'upacaya'* of the permanent emotion as *rasa*, advocated by Lollaṭa, or of *anukāra* of the permanent emotion as *rasa*, adopted by Śankuka, or the view of *viṣaya-sāmagrī* (having potency to create pleasure or pain) as *rasa* held by the *Sāmkhyas* with certain qualifications[3]

A careful analysis of Abhinavagupta's exposition of the *rasa* theory reveals the following aspects or characteristics

(i) An ordinary emotion is individual and immediately personal *Rasa* is generic and depersonalised It is shared by all *sahrdayas* and it has essentially no personal significance A permanent emotion, only when it is universalised and when it lends itself to aesthetic enjoyment (*rasana, carvanā, asvāda*), becomes *rasa*[4]

(ii) The perception of *rasa* is in a class by itself (*sui generis, alaukika*), totally different from or beyond ordinary everyday experience The experience of *rasa* is "not really of this world It

---

2 तस्मात्सतामत्र न दूषितानि मतानि तान्येव तु शोधितानि । —Natyaśastra Vol. I p 278
It however may be pointed out that Abhinavagupta himself says elsewhere Duṣitascanukaranavadaḥ — Abhinavabharatī on VI 33

3 तथैव चोपचयावस्थासु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणादनुकारोऽप्यस्तु । भावानुगामितया करणात विषयसामग्र्यपि भवतु विज्ञानवादावलम्बनात । —Abhinavabharati Vol I p 280
This text needs to be corrected in the light of Hemacandra s Kavyanuśāsana (p 99) एवंच चोपचयावस्थास्तु देशाद्यनियन्त्रणात् अनुकारोऽप्यस्त्वनुगामितया [ऽप्यस्तु भावानुगामितया] करणात । विषयसामग्र्यपि भवतु विज्ञानवादावलम्बनात ।

4 ——अलौकिकनिर्विघ्नसंवेदनात्मकचर्वणागोचरतां नीतोऽर्थश्चर्व्यमाणतैकसारो न तु सिद्धस्वभाव तात्कालिक एव न तु चर्वणातिरिक्तकालावलम्बी स्थायिविलक्षण एव रस । —Ibid p 284

is beyond our concepts of time and space. It only takes place in the realm of literature, and never in real life." It consists exclusively in knowledge which is not comparable to any other kind of knowledge.[5]

(iii) *Rasa* is always suggested (*abhivyakta*). It can never be expressed (—described in words—*vācya*) even in a dream.[6]

(iv) The essence of *rasa* consists exclusively in aesthetic pleasure or relish. The state of aesthetic relish is a form of consciousness (*saṁvedana*) free from obstacles, i.e., worldly preoccupations, etc. *As rasa consists of tasting one's own form of consciousness it is essentially or predominantly pleasurable.* However on account of the matters (or emotions such as *bhaya, jugupsā, krodha, śoka*) presented there is a slight touch of bitterness or painfulness.[7]

(v) *Rasa* is not an objective 'thing' in the real world. For it exists only during the period of aesthetic relish (*carvaṇā*) and does not persist *for any time after the aesthetic relish is over.* It is a private and personal experience. It is an inner happening, invisible to a third party. This does not mean its reality is unprovable (*aprāmāṇika*). It is '*svasaṁvedanasiddha*' (Its only proof was one's own inward experience itself).[8]

(vi) *Rasāsvāda* is akin to *para-brahmāsvāda* though there is considerable difference between the two experiences. In both cases there is a sense of complete repose of having reached the goal beyond which there is nothing to be accomplished, and thus both the

---

5 लौकिकचित्तवृत्त्यनुमाने का रसता। तेनालौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसास्वादः स्मृत्यनुमानलौकिकसंवेदनविलक्षण एव। —Ibid, p 284

And, नाट्य एव रसा न लोक इत्यर्थः । काव्यं नाट्यमेव । —Ibid p. 291

And, रसना च बोधरूपैव किन्तु बोधान्तरेभ्यो लौकिकेभ्यो विलक्षणैव । —Ibid, p 285.

6 यस्तु स्वप्नेऽपि न स्वशब्दवाच्यो न लौकिकव्यवहारपतितः ——रसः ।—Locana (BP ed 1940) p 51.

7 चर्व्यमाणतैकसारः (रसः) ।— —Abhinavabharatī p. 284

रस्यतैकप्राणो ह्यसौ न प्रमेयादिस्वभावः ।— —Ibid, p 284

अलौकिकनिर्विघ्नसंवेदनात्मकचर्वणागोचरतां नीतोऽर्थः —— स्थायिविलक्षण एव रसः । —*Ibid, p* 284

अस्मन्मते संवेदनमेवानन्दघनमास्वाद्यते। तत्र का दुःखाशङ्का। केवलं तस्यैव चित्रताकरणे रतिशोकादिवासनाव्यापारः। —Ibid, p 292.

तेन सर्वेऽमी सुखप्रधानाः। स्वसंविच्चर्वणरूपस्यैकघनस्य प्रकाशस्यानन्दसारत्वात्। एकघनशोकसंविच्चर्वणेऽपि लोके स्त्रीलोकस्य हृदयविश्रान्तिरन्तरायशून्यविश्रान्तिशरीरत्वात् (सुखस्य)। अविश्रान्तिरूपतैव (च) दुःखम्। तत एव कापिलैर्दुःखस्य चाञ्चल्यमेव प्राणत्वेनोक्तं रजोवृत्तितां वदद्भिरित्यानन्दरूपता सर्वरसानाम्। किन्तूपरञ्जकविषयवशात्तेषामपि कटुकिमास्ति (वशात् केषामपि कटुकिम्ना) स्पर्शो वीरस्य (? स्पर्शोऽस्ति वीरस्येव)।

8 न तु सिद्धस्वभावस्तात्कालिक एव न तु चर्वणातिरिक्तकालावलम्बी स्थायिविलक्षण एव रसः । —Ibid, p 284

स्वयं तु नाप्रामाणिकः (रसः)। स्वसंवेदनसिद्धत्वात्। —Ibid, p 285.

and, चमत्कार इति। स च साक्षात्कारस्वभावो मानसोऽध्यवसायः सङ्कल्पो वा स्मृतिर्वा तथात्वेन स्फुरन्नस्तु (? स्फुरत्यस्तु)। —*Ibid*, p 279.

and अत्र हि स्मरतीति या स्मृतिरुपदर्शिता सा न तार्किकप्रसिद्धा। पूर्वमेतस्यार्थस्याननुभूतत्वात्। अपि तु प्रतिभानापरपर्याय साक्षात्कारस्वभावेयमिति ।—हेम काव्यानु ।) —Ibid, p 285.

and न रसनाव्यापार आस्वादनम् – अपि तु मानम् एव। स चात्रादिकलाऽस्ति। —Ibid, p 290.

experiences are *alaukika*. Abhinavagupta himself distinguishes between the transcendental joy characteristic of aesthetic relish and the bliss that comes from the contemplation of or the meditation on the Supreme Being by the yogī.[9]

(vii) The sensitive spectator (*sahṛdaya*) perceives the *vibhāvas* etc. not in an objective i e., indifferent, uninvolved manner (*tāṭasthyena*) but by being overcome by sensitivity or sympathetic response of the heart (*sahṛdayatva* or *hṛdayasaṁvāda*). He sympathises with the original character and to a large degree he even identifies (*tanmayībhavana* or *tādātmya*) with the character and the situations depicted etc. He however does not identify himself with the original character completely. He no doubt undergoes the emotions — "He is pleased when the character is pleased, he is in sorrow when the character is in sorrow, he is angry when anger (*krodha*) is being presented and afraid when *bhaya* is presented"— but he maintains certain distance. But before the identification of the spectator with the original character, and the events and things portrayed in the drama, takes place they all are *generalised or contemplated universally i e they become independent of any relation with particular individual time and place.* In the theatre, we live neither in the time or space of the original characters nor of the actors. We are outside both time and space which characterise the world we know; it is a different order of reality.[10]

---

9 Read the following passage from the Abhinavabhāratī (p. 285) किं त्वलौकिकविभावादिसंयोगबलोपनतैवेय चर्वणा। सा च प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमोपमानादिलौकिकप्रमाणजनितरत्याद्यवबोधन तथा योगिप्रत्यक्षजनिततटस्थपरसंवित्तिज्ञानात् सकलवैषयिकोपरागशून्यशुद्धपरयोगिगतस्वात्मानन्दैकघनानुभवाच्च विशिष्यते। एतेषां यथायोगमर्जनादिविघ्नान्तरोदयात् ताटस्थ्येऽस्फुटत्वविषयावेशवैवश्यकृतसौंदर्यविरहात्। अत्र तु—न विघ्नान्तरादीनां संभव इत्यवोचाम बहुश। and, from the *Locana* (p 160) इह तु विभावादिचर्वणा—अन्य एवायं रसास्वाद।

It is, however, interesting that Abhinavagupta condemns this *rasāsvāda* as very inferior to the bliss that comes from finding repose in God तत उभयतोऽपि मकलप्रमाणपरिनिश्चितदृष्टादृष्टविषयविशेषज यत्सुख यदपि वा लोकोत्तर रसचर्वणात्मक परमेश्वरविश्रान्त्यानन्द प्रकृष्यते तदानन्दविप्रुण्मात्रावभासो हि रसास्वाद। —Locana, p. 508 (BP ed, Banaras, 1940)

10 लौकिकेनानुमानेन मस्कृत प्रमदादिर्न ताटस्थ्येन प्रतिपद्यते। अपि तु हृदयसंवादात्मकसहृदयत्वबलात् पूर्णीभविष्यद्रसास्वादाङ्कुरीभावेनानुमानस्मृत्यादिसोपानमारुह्येव (? सोपानमनारुह्यैव) तन्मयीभावोचितचर्वणाप्राणतया। —Ibid, p 284

And, तत एव 'भीतोऽहं शत्रुर्वयस्यो मध्यस्थो वा' इत्यादिप्रत्ययेभ्यो दुःखसुखादिकृतहानादिबुद्ध्यन्तरोदयनियमवत्तया विघ्नबहुलेभ्यो विलक्षण निर्विघ्नप्रतीतिग्राह्य साक्षादिव हृदये निविशमान चक्षुषोरिव विपरिवर्तमान भयानको रस। तथाविधे हि भये नात्माऽत्यन्ततिरस्कृतो न विशेषत उल्लिखित। —Ibid, p 279

तत एव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यम्। अपि तु विततम्—तदत्र साक्षात्कारायमाणत्वे परिपोषिका नटादिसामग्री। यस्यां वस्तुसतां काव्यार्पितानां च देशकालप्रमात्रादीनां नियमहेतूनामन्योन्यप्रतिबन्धबलादत्यन्तमपसारणे स एव साधारणीभाव सुतरां पुष्यति। —Ibid, p 279.

And, अत एवोभयदेशकालत्याग।——तेन साधारणीभूता सन्तानवृत्तेरेकस्या एव वा संविदो गोचरभूता रति, शृङ्गार। साधारणी (भावना) च विभावादिभिरिति —Ibid, pp 285-286

Abhinavagupta is indebted to various predecessors for the different aspects of his concept of *rasa:* he is indebted to Ānandavardhana as regards the idea that *rasa* is always and ever suggested and never expressed (described in words); to Śaṅkuka as regards the idea that the perception of *rasa* does not fall within the recognised categories of knowledge (and is thus *alaukika*, in a class by itself) and that the reality of *rasa* is not unprovable because it is actually *felt.* (*sva-saṁvedanasiddha*); to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as regards the idea of *sādhāraṇya* or *sādhāraṇībhāva* or *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*, and the comparison of *rasāsvāda* with *parabrahmāsvāda*, and the concept that *rasa* is by its very nature pleasurable.[11] Abhinavagupta's contribution to the *rasa* theory lies mainly in his great emphasis on the transcendental or unique nature (*alaukikatva*) of *rasa*, and the pleasurable nature of all *rasas* and the generalisation of the sensitive reader's own emotion. He will also be remembered for having coined new critical terms like *sahṛdaya*, *hṛdayasaṁvāda*, *svātmānupraveśa*, *tanmayībhāva* or *tanmayībhavana* or *tādātmya*, *carvaṇā*, *camatkāra*, *alaukika*, and so forth. These terms are frequently used in books on literary criticism after the twelfth century.

Many post-Abhinavagupta writers including Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Viśvanātha and Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha accept Abhinavagupta's view without any hesitation. It may, however, be stated, in passing, that the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and of *Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana* severely criticise Abhinavagupta for his view that all *rasas* are pleasurable

11 रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्र्यबलाद् द्रुतिविस्तारविकासलक्षणेन सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन पर भुज्यते । —Ibid, p 277

From the following passage it would appear that Sankuka too held the view that all the *rasas* are pleasurable, Abhinavagupta, however, points out the difference between the two positions:

ये तु रत्याद्यनुकरणरूप रसमाहुः अथ चोदयन्ति शोकः कथ सुखहेतुरिति । परिहरन्ति च अस्ति कोऽपि नाट्यगतानां विशेष इति । तत्र चोद्य तावदसत् । शोको हि प्रतीयमानः किं स्वात्मनि प्रत्येतुर्दुःखं वितनोतीति नियम । शत्रुदुःखे प्रहर्षात् । अन्यत्र च मध्यस्थत्वात् । उत्तर तु भावाना वस्तुस्वभावमव्रेणेति न किञ्चिदत्र तत्त्वम् । अस्मन्मते संवेदनमेवानन्दघनमास्वाद्यते । तत्र का दुःखाशङ्का । केवल तस्यैव चित्रताकरणे रतिशोकादिवासनाव्यापार । तदुद्बोधने चाभिनयादिव्यापार । —Ibid, pp 291-292

THE PROCESS OF 'रसनिष्पत्ति'*

By

G V DAVANE

The केवलाद्वैतिनः maintain that the world was never created and जगदुत्पत्ति cannot be discussed from a metaphysical point of view Similarly the exponents of रस maintain that रस is not created and really speaking रसनिष्पत्ति does not take place What springs up in good literature is not रस but its relish, चर्वणा Hence we are analysing the process of रसचर्वणानिष्पत्ति.

The word रस in the sense of the highest bliss was known to the उपनिषद्s also, but it is भरत, the author of the नाट्यशास्त्र who for the first time, has used it in the context of the literary compositions

Since no dramatic device can be effective without रस (न रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते ।) भरत *had to discuss it in the context of* drama He gives his oft quoted, much—discussed रससूत्र -

विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।

He accepts रसनिष्पत्ति as an established fact and does not *bother* to analyse the process भरत must not have dreamt that this short aphorism was going to inspire many a Sanskrit commentator and was going to bring to light numerous expositions on the topic After भरत many ancient commentators must have tried to throw light on this सूत्र Unfortunately their dissertations have been irrevocably *lost to us Thanks to the intellectual giant* अभिनवगुप्त that the views of some of them are at least partially preserved for us The earliest available commentary on the नाट्यशास्त्र is अभिनवभारती of अभिनवगुप्त He has referred to रस in a number of places in the अभिनवभारती and the ध्वन्यालोकलोचन In his commentary on the N S Chapter VI he has discussed the problem of रसनिष्पत्ति in details This scholarly exposition had such a strong impact upon the literary critics like मम्मट हेमचन्द्र and विश्वनाथ that all of them have simply reproduced his views माणिक्यचन्द्र the author of सङ्केत pays him a compliment in this regard — सर्वस्व रसस्यास्य भट्टपादा हि जानते ।

Before giving his own theory अभिनव mentions and refutes the views of his three predecessors as follows —

---

* Paper read at the Seminar on *Rasa-theory held on* 19 3 1978 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan

(A) लोल्लट - स्थायिन्s are the permanent emotions inherent in every human being in a subtle undeveloped form When a स्थायिन् comes in contact with the respective विभावs, अनुभावs and व्यभिचारि-भावs it becomes fully developed (उपचित) and the resultant is रस, the aesthetic delight (स्थाय्येव विभावादिभिरुपचितो रस ।) During this process the स्थायिन् develops different relations with the different constituents of रस as follows — स्थायिन्-विभाव उत्पाद्य उत्पादकभाव, because विभावादिs produce उपचित – स्थायिन्, । स्थायिन् - अनुभाव गम्यगमकभाव since the उपचय is inferred through the 'अनुभावs' स्थायिन्—व्यभिचारिभाव पोष्यपोषकभाव because व्यभिचारिन्s develop and expediate रस This रस the उपचितस्थायिन् really belongs to the character of the original story like राम दुष्यन्त or भीम yet the actor presents everything with full concentration and hence a peculiar charm (वस्तुसौन्दर्य) is developed Hence now the spectators superimpose the रस on the actor It is this superimposition that leads to their delight

This theory of लोल्लट is known as उत्पत्तिवाद because according to him उपचय of स्थायिन् is produced by विभावादिs लोल्लट is called a मीमांसक Modern scholars explain this saying that he is उत्तरमीमांसक i e a वेदान्तिन् For he speaks of the superimposition of पात्र-स्थायिभाव on the नट just as a वेदान्तिन् speaks of the अध्यास of जगत् on ब्रह्मन् To my mind he can be called a मीमांसक because in his spirit to deny व्यञ्जना he includes it under अभिधा accompanied by अर्थापत्ति which he describes as farflung process of अभिधा

लोल्लट s explanation of रसनिष्पत्ति did not appeal to other critics like शङ्कुक, who pointed out numerous flaws in it The most note-worthy defect is as follows —

How does this रस come to be relished by the spectators, when it is in no way connected with them?

(B) शङ्कुक explains the सूत्र as follows —

The स्थायिभाव really belongs to the character in the original story The actor imitates the अनुभावs of this स्थायिन् very skil-fully, by dint of his training and practice On the basis of their own experience the spectators in the play house have already estab-lished a हेतु-साध्य भाव between the अनुभावs and the स्थायिन that the particular अनुभावs reveal a particular स्थायिन् Now when they witness the paraphernalia of रस i e विभावs अनुभावs and व्यभिचारि-भावs on the stage they know that all this is artificial Yet the effi-cient acting of the actors creates such a verisimilitude that the spec-tators get lost into the performance and accept the विभावादिs as

genuine Now they infer the स्थायिभाव in the नट They feel that this स्थायिभाव is similar to that of the पात्र In order to distinguish it from the original स्थायिभाव they call it रस (रतिरनुक्रियमाणा शृङ्गारः) This inference of the spectators is different from ordinary inferences (वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलात्) It is as good as perception, due to its peculiar charm It is something like visualising a horse on seeing the picture of a horse, in which the horse is not real, illusory, similar or doubtful (चित्रतुरगन्याय)

अनुमान is the very pivot of शङ्कुक's theory Hence it is called अनुमितिवाद and he is designated as a नैयायिक

This explanation of the रससूत्र also was subjected to acid test by later critics Following are the most noteworthy defects in it —

(1) Imitation implies that the imitator has thorough knowledge *of the original matter to be imitated How can an actor imitate* a character like राम and दुष्यन्त?

(2) रस is a matter of direct experience How can it be relished through an अनुमान?

(3) An inference wrongly formed on the basis of something similar to the middle term leads to a fallacy and not to the conclusion of a similar साध्य If one sees fog similar to smoke and infers the existence of fire it will only lead to a fallacy and not to the conclusion of something similar to fire How can the spectators infer similar स्थायिभाव in the actor?

After शङ्कुक भट्टनायक came forward to explain the pocess of रसनिष्पत्ति Till now the स्थायिन् was located in the पात्र or the नट while the relish is enjoyed by the spectators It is भट्टनायक who for the first time treats रस as an experience belonging to the spectators *He started analysing how a dramatic performance* appeals to the spectators He could observe two stages —

(1) The spectators happen to disconnect the entire perfor*mance from the aspects of particular space time and substratum*

(2) Then it enters the innermost recesses of their hearts He called the first phenomenon as साधारणीकरण, generalisation or universalisation The second is what अभिनव calls as तन्मयीभवन He could realise that this साधारणीकरण cannot be effected by अभिधा At the same time he did not want to accept व्यञ्जना Therefore he called this process of imaginative absorption as भावकत्वव्यापार (A process which brings into existence (casual of भू to be) the generalisation This process detaches the whole dramatic scene from all particulars of time *space and person Now if it remains* an abstract

generalised concept the spectators cannot enjoy it. Hence भट्टनायक has to bring in another process that would enable the spectators to enjoy it. He calls it भोजकत्वव्यापार (A process of introspective taste which makes (casual of √भुज् to enjoy) the spectators enjoy the performance). The साधारणीकृत elements on the stage incite a state of mind, predominated by सत्त्व in the case of the spectators. Their minds pass through द्रुति and विस्तार when सत्त्व mingles with रजस् and तमस् respectively. The स्वसंवित् of a spectator now rests in its own lustruous blissful consciousness and the spectator enjoys the highest aesthetic experience. Enjoyment of रस by the spectators is the main foundation of नायक's theory, which is therefore known as भुक्तिवाद. He is called as a सांख्यवादिन् probably because like the पुरुष of the सांख्यः the actor remains aloof from this enjoyment.

It can be easily observed that this theory of भट्टनायक has really paved the way for अभिनव'sअभिव्यक्तिवाद Most of the conclusions of नायक are acceptable to अभिनव. The only criticism that he offers is on नायक's statement 'भावनामात्र एव शृङ्गारादिगणः ।' and about भोजकत्वव्यापार he inquires— 'प्रतीत्यादिव्यतिरिक्तः संसारे को भोगः ?'

Thus भट्टनायक had almost touched upon the crux of the problem. An explanation for the साधारणीकरण and रसानुभव was to be offered and the theory was going to be an established fact. With his matchless genius अभिनवगुप्त came forward to do it and did it very effectively and efficiently indeed. This great critic modestly says that he is not saying anything new; but is just expounding what his great predecessors have already said. According to अभिनवगुप्त the power of व्यञ्जना could offer a convincing explanation for both the processes of भावकत्व and भोजकत्व. It is व्यञ्जना that divests the paraphernalia of रस displayed on the stage of its particular space, time and individuality. It is an extra-ordinary process that leads the aesthets through the gateway of suggested sense to the aesthetic summom bonum of चमत्कार or रसचर्वणा. When the whole network is thus साधारणीकृत it at once appeals to the appreciative spectators by a special type of intuitive cognition. This is रस, the aesthetic experience.

अभिनव's theory is rightly known as अभिव्यक्तिवाद. According to him रस was already present in the minds of the spectators in an अव्यक्त form or latent impressions. With the proper stimulant (आलम्बनविभाव) excitants (उद्दीपनविभावs) and insuants (अनुभावs) it blends into the manifest form, enjoyable by all सहृदयs

Let us illustrate this with the first Act of the अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल दुष्यन्त is the आश्रय of रति, शकुन्तला is the आलम्बनविभाव. The hermitage in the

solitude, the trees, the creepers, the remarks of प्रियंवदा and अनसूया all these act as उद्दीपनविभावः रति of दुष्यन्त gets the stimulus at the very first sight of शकुन्तला when he remarks.'अहो मधुरमासां दर्शनम् ।'. Further he admires her charms again and again and goes on thinking of her only He fears that perhaps she may be कण्व's real daughter and then he cannot marry her Thus the different व्यभिचारिभावs like अभिलाषा, चिन्ता, शङ्का develops, in his mind दुष्यन्त's reactions to all these feelings are seen in his facial expressions, knitting of the eye brows, horripation, tremour, etc With a harmonius blending of the विभावs अनुभावs and व्यभिचारिभावs and with a similar response from शकुन्तला दुष्यन्त's रति develops into शृङ्गाररस

Now let us review this in the light of the stage-performance There is an actor playing the role of दुष्यन्त and three actresses playing the roles of शकुन्तला, प्रियंवदा and अनसूया The spectators come to the play-house The music, setting, surroundings, etc. gradually make them forget their practical experience Slowly and gradually their hearts get predominated by सत्त्व and become clean like a mirror, ready to catch any reflection Now the skilled actıng of the actors, the proper settıng on the stage, the suitable make-up, the efficient direction of the director, the necessary atmosphere created by the music all these create verisimilitude of the actual happenings, on the stage The suggestive power used by the play-wright in the recitative element and the gestures and histrionics on the part of the actors now remove all bonds of space, time and substratum Now the speactor does not experience दुष्यन्तत्व, नटत्व or even his own प्रेक्षकत्व It is fully a साधारणीकृत phenomenon Now the all-powerful suggestive power operates further on and the generalised experience automatically becomes the private experience of each one of the spectators Each one is immersed into it विश्वनाथ has described this in his साहित्यदर्पण as follows —

परस्य न परस्येति ममेति न ममेति च ।
तदास्वादे विभावादेः परिच्छेदो न विद्यते ॥

The experience of one spectator meets with हृदयसंवाद of other spectators There results एकघनता, uniformity of the sympathetic imaginative experience of all spectators This happens because latent impressions in the minds of all spectators belong to the same category The spectators are now forgetful of everything else excepting this wondrous bliss This is विगलितवेद्यान्तर आनन्द, 'वेद्यान्तरस्पर्शशून्य आनन्द' This can be compared to आत्मानन्द of the वेदान्त :-

स यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया सपरिष्वक्तो न बाह्य किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम्, एव मेवायमात्मा प्राज्ञेनात्मना सपरिष्वक्तो न बाह्य किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम्। (बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्)

Thus the minds of the spectators are unified with their own blissful, shining consciousness This intuitive experience is next to ब्रह्मानन्द only, differing from it in this much only that while ब्रह्मन् is निष्कल, निरञ्जन their minds are tinged with a variety of latent impressions विश्वनाथ has described this रसास्वाद as follows —

> सत्त्वोद्रेकादखण्डस्वप्रकाशानन्दचिन्मय ।
> वेद्यान्तरस्पर्शशून्यो ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदर ॥
> लोकोत्तरचमत्कारप्राण कैश्चित् प्रमातृभि ।
> स्वाकारवदभिन्नत्वेनायमास्वाद्यते रस ॥

भट्टनायक goes to the extent of saying that this रसास्वाद is even superior to the experience of a perfect योगिन्; because the योगिन् has to achieve the state with great hardships while here the bliss flows spontaneously

The essence of this aesthetic state is wondrous joy रस सारश्चमत्कार In this engrossed state the spectators feel as if this wondrous joy is just throbbing in front of them, penetrating their hearts through and through and is nailed up within the innermost recesses of their heart अभिनव has compared this with the blooming of a miraculous flower (अद्भुतपुष्प), whose petals bloom within the wink of an eye, never to fade away This experience is simply indescribable It is not the sumtotal of the विभावs अनुभावs and व्यभिचारिभावs, but something extra-ordinary over and above all of them. It is compared to षाडवरस, पानकरस or प्रपाणकरसन्याय

What is the proof of its existence? The theorists clearly say that the experience of the connaisseurs is the only proof for it It is स्वसवेद्य, known through सचेतसामनुभव only It is not a कार्य resulting from विभावादिs because unlike other effects it cannot exist without its निमित्तकारण It is not a ज्ञाप्य which is ज्ञापित by विभावादिs since only an already existing entity can be ज्ञापित It is not like सविकल्पप्रत्यक्ष because in this आस्वाद, all distinction have evaporated Nor again is this like निर्विकल्पप्रत्यक्ष, since this रसास्वाद is रुचितविकल्पसवेदन

That is exactly the reason why अभिनव and others take pride in describing it as अलौकिक This experience of aesthetic delight is not an objective phenomenon, but purely a subjective experience, and yet there is हृदयसवाद of all spectators about this personal experience

However, it is worthnoting that the spectator identifies himself with the various dramatic situations presented on the stage and yet

always maintains an aesthetic distance No appreciative spectator rushes to the stage to drive away the bee that is hovering around शकुन्तला s face or to give a good beating to the wicked शकार There is a transparent and yet adament partition that separates the spectator from the dramatic character He does not experience feelings of the characters but rather feels about the feelings Modern scholars describe this as 'meta feeling' That is why Worsfold says in his 'Principles of Criticism'—"Actuality, not reality, i e reality highlightened by concentration is the essence of drama"

Now भरत had brought in the concept of रस for नाट्य only Later critics like अभिनव extended the theory so as to make it applicable to literature as a whole Hence अभिनव remarks 'काव्येऽपि नाट्यायमान एव रस ।

The abstract images of thoughts and ideas represented by a poet's words play the roles of actors on the stage of a reader's mind. That is why भट्टतात warns the poets प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसम्भव ।

He glorifies the descriptive art of great poets as follows —

वर्णनोत्कलिता भोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिता ।
उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्या भावा प्रत्यक्षवत् स्फुटा ॥

We are reminded of many pen pictures of the master poet कालिदास, e g

स वीक्ष्य वेपथुमती सरसाङ्गयष्टि-
निक्षेपणाय पदमुद्धृतमुद्वहन्ती ।
मार्गाचलव्यतिकराकुलितेव सिन्धु
शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥ (कुमारसम्भव सर्ग ५)

धेन्वा तदध्यासितकातराक्ष्या
निरीक्ष्यमाण सुतरां दयालु ॥ (रघुवंश सर्ग २)

Thus the subtle process of रसनिष्पत्ति is based upon the beautiful art of suggestion, which is found in drama poem all good literary pieces and in fact in all works of art

---

THE THEORIES OF RASA AND DHVANI*

By

Y S WALIMBE

Both Rasa and Dhvani have been regarded as extremely valuable concepts in the field of Sanskrit poetics to the extent, that they have been considered to be the very soul of poetry, and a very voluminous literature has come into existence defining their respective connotations, and their bearings on each other It has also been suggested that both these concepts, in some form or other, were known to practising poets in very ancient times, for example, even to the Ṛgvedic poets, though a theoretical discussion of these concepts has not come down to us from olden times In his recent book, 'The Ṛgvedic Foundations of Classical Poetics', Dr T G Mainkar has tried to establish that the Ṛgvedic poets were not only familiar with the concepts of Rasa and poetic suggestion, including terms like Adbhuta, Vira Karuna, Bhaya, Hāsa, Raudra, Vātsalya, Bhakti and their connotations, but also with much more They knew that expressions employed in poetry always point to something else that is sought to be suggested, and these poets had actually employed these Rasas in their compositions, and the varieties of Dhvani known as 'Samlakṣyakrama' and 'Asamlakṣyakrama' and 'Gunībhūtavyangya' and 'Vyangya' are actually present in the Ṛgvedic verses ('Ṛgvedic Foundations', pp 59 66) However, it is evident that the Rasa theory or school (sampradāya) as such, enjoys a longer tradition in the history of Sanskrit poetics, from the times of Bharata's Nāṭyaśastra, viz of at least more than sixteen to seventeen centuries, while the Dhvani school is comparatively younger and has lived a little over a thousand years since the time of Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka

In order to have a clear perception of the Rasa and Dhvani theories, it is essestial to study the genesis of each theory separately, since the genesis itself will help us to understand the exact scope of these concepts, and the exact points of contact between them It is quite obvious that the Rasa theory was first promulgated by Bharata in the 6th Adhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra in connection with the science of dramaturgy and the actual performance of a play on the stage While discussing the origin of the Naṭyaveda, Bharata informs us that Lord Brahman (Druhina) fashioned four constituents

* Paper read at the Seminar on Rasa theory held on 19 3 1978 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

of the drama from the four Vedas, He picked up the dramatic text from the Rgveda, the songs or verse portion from the Sāmaveda, the details of gesticulation from the Yajurveda, and the Rasas or sentiments, emotions, etc from the Atharvaveda (जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च। यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥ —Nāṭyaśāstra I 17) Thus the treatment of Rasas by Bharata owes its existence to the exigencies of the dramatic performance and its actual appreciation by the spectators, the Sāmājikas, in the theatre, It was only later that the theory was extended to the field of poetics or literature in general, and accepted as the underlying philosophy of aesthetics or art—experience, as Dr Coomaraswamy, Dr Hiriyanna and other scholars have tried to interpret it In fact, while explaining the implications of the Rasasutra, viz 'तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्ति'। (—N Ś Adhyāya VI), Bharata resorts to the analogy of contented people relishing the various flavours of well — prepared food and obtaining pleasure etc, corresponding to receptive spectators relishing the various emotions replenished by charming forms of gesticulation and obtaining pleasure etc Hence it is that they have been explained as dramatic emotions or sentiments (रस इति क पदार्थ । उच्यते-आस्वाद्यत्वात् । कथमास्वाद्यते रस । यथा हि नानाव्यञ्जनसंस्कृतमन्नं भुञ्जाना रसानास्वादयन्ति सुमनस पुरुषा हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति तथा नानाभावाभिनयव्यञ्जितान् वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् स्थायिभावानास्वादयन्ति सुमनस प्रेक्षका हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति। तस्मान्नाट्यरसा इत्यभिव्याख्याता । N Ś VI)

However, it was clear that the analogy of relishing the flavour of food was not to be understood literally, and what Bharata meant to analyse was the psychological experience of the spectators witnessing a play on the stage He explains a Bhāva as that which reveals the inner idea or intent of the poet through the medium of words, physical gestures, emotional expression of the face and concentrated acting (वागङ्गमुखरागेण सत्त्वेनाभिनयेन च। कवेरन्तर्गतं भावं भावयन्भाव उच्यते। —N Ś VII 2) The poet's intent appeals to the aesthetic susceptibility of the spectator, and then only the spectator undergoes the aesthetic experience Even the definitions of Vibhāva and Anubhāva that Bharata gives refer to this idea of the poet's intent being presented to the spectator's consciousness (बहवोऽर्था विभाव्यन्ते वागङ्गाभिनयाश्रया । अनेन यस्मात्तेनायं विभाव इति संज्ञित ॥ and वागङ्गाभिनयेनेह यतस्त्वर्थोऽनुभाव्यते। शाखाङ्गोपाङ्गसंयुक्तस्त्वनुभावस्तत स्मृत ॥ N S VII 4, 5) Particularly Abhinavagupta s exposition of the Rasa experience leaves no doubt in our minds that the whole experience occured on a psychological and not on a physical level, though the medium of that experience was necessarily physical or sensuous

Thus Rasa occupied the central position in Bharata's analysis of dramatic experience in the theatre However, in course of time the theory rather lost its prominence in the field of poetics, and other constituents of poetic beauty mentioned by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra, such as Alamkāras or figures of words and speech (N Ś XVI) and Kāvyagunas, assumed more importance in the eyes of later poeticians In fact, a very long period in the history of Sanskrit poetics from the sixth to the end of the ninth century A D, starting from Bhaṭṭi may be clearly described as the period of the Alamkāra school of poetics, and having its most powerful champions in Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana (to some extent), and Rudraṭa These Alamkārikas, properly so called, raised the poetic figures to the most exalted status in the entire scheme of poetic thought, and believed that the main reason of the appeal of poetry to the reader is the skilful use of charming figures (काव्य ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात) and सौन्दर्यमलङ्कार । — Vāmana's Kāvyālamkārasūtravṛtti, I 1, 2) In other words, poetic beauty, in their opinion, was mainly constituted by the Alamkāras, and hence the poet must concentrate his attention on poetic figures and conceits to make his composition presentable and relishable Thus for the first time, considerable emphasis was laid upon the presentational or expressive aspect of poetry than the reflective or emotional aspect, that is, form became more important than content Though poetry was recognised as the association or companionship of word and sense (शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । —Bhāmaha, I 16, ननु शब्दार्थौ काव्यम —Rudraṭa, II i, काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालङ्कारसंस्कृतयो शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तते । —Vāmana, I 1 1 वृत्ति), the embodiment of poetry was mainly regarded as brought about by a certain set of words or expressions having appropriate meaning or ideas, as Daṇḍin clearly observes (शरीर तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली । —Kavyādarsa I 10) The Alamkārikas revealed a typically grammarian — fashioned preference for word as opposed to idea or meaning that it embodied, and then ways and means were suggested as to how this word or expression can be rendered more charming Consequently, we find a number of authors assiduously engaged in finding out and prescribing numerous devices and decorations to beautify the 'word' The figurative images, which really constitute imaginative elements of poetic genius, became more and more conventionalized and stereotyped There was a certain stylization and every charming face came to be compared to the moon or to the lotus The poets also concentrated more on the skill in expression than on novelty of ideas, and poetic composition was reduced to a more or less mechanical process, or a jargon The poeticians exhausted all their wits in describing what is the body of poetry or Kāvyaśarira, and how

it is to be adorned or decorated, totally forgetting that the body is meant to house the spirit or the soul (Ātman), and that this spirit also deserves some consideration Vāmana no doubt declared Rīti to be the soul of poetry (रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । —Vāmana I 2 6), but even his concept of Rīti was only explained as a peculiar arrangement of Words (विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः । —Vāmana I 2 7), and the Gunas were described by him as the constituents elements of poetic beauty (काव्यशोभाया कर्तारो धर्मा गुणा । —Vāmana III 1 1), while the Alamkāras were described as the causes of additional or higher poetic beauty (तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्कारा । —Vāmana III 1 2) Thus once again the Alamkāras were given the palm of superiority Though they were defined as the wider principles of poetic beauty viz सौन्दर्यमलङ्कार, in practice the concept was much narrowed down Hence there is no surprise if we find these early poeticians exhausting all their intellectual resources in multiplying the number of Alamkāras or rhetorical categories, distinguishing them very minutely from one another, and indulging in their divisions and subdivisions There was practically no awareness of any poetic principle higher or more vital than the figures, and hence even the poetry of this period tended to become more and more artificial and conventional

It was only with the advent of Ānandavardhana and his Dhvanyaloka that poetics was freed from this overburdening of figures or decorative categories It was only Rudrata, the author of the Kāvyalamkara who has spoken of Vyangya being the most important element in a poem in connection with his discussion of the figure Bhava The other poeticians were aware of Rasas or Bhāvas, but always assigned them a position sub ordinate to that of the Alamkāras in fact, they included these concepts in the Alamkāras only, designating them as Rasavat Preyas Ūrjasvin Samāhita etc Even from Anandavardhana's suggestive statement in the beginning of the Dhvanyaloka (काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः । —Dhvanyā I 1) it appears that there were scholars willing to accord to Dhvani the highest status of the soul of poetry, but by and large, both the concepts of Rasa and Dhvani were treated rather casually, and were not given their due weightage In fact, as Anandavardhana states many scholars affirmed that there was no such principle as Dhvani at all (तस्याभाव जगदुरपरे) and still others who held that it could well be subsumed under Lakṣaṇā or Bhakti (भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये)

Some others were prepared to recognise the validity of Dhvani in poetry, but believed that it could only be perceived but not defined in words (केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयम्) Hence to end this state of confusion and uncertainty Anandavardhana took

it upon himself to expound the essential nature of the principle of Dhvani (तेन ब्रूम सहृदयमन प्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम् ।। —Dhvanyāloka I 1) While establishing Dhvani on a very substantial logical foundation, Anandavardhana also accorded to the concept of Rasa the enviable position that it had enjoyed in the times of Bharata, and that was denied to it in the subsequent Alamkāra period, as explained above

While Bharata conceived Rasa as the emotional content of drama made relishable to the spectators through the presentation of this content on the stage, rendered spectacular by music, dance and gesticulation, Anandavardhana regarded Dhvani as the principle constituting the highest beauty in all literature He emphasized that this principle constituted the essential secret of all great compositions such as the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, but even the greatest thinkers of the past had been unable to bring out its essential nature, and hence his attempt to expound it (तस्य हि ध्वने स्वरूप सकलसत्कविकाव्योपनिषद्भूतमतिरमणीयमणीयसीभिरपि चिरन्तनकाव्यलक्षणविधायिना बुद्धिभिरनुन्मीलितपूर्वम्, अथ च रामायणमहाभारतप्रभृतिनि लक्ष्ये सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धव्यवहार लक्षयतां सहृदयानामानन्दो मनसि लभता प्रतिष्ठामिति प्रकाश्यते । —Dhvanyāloka I) He was only removing the dust gathered on the surface, so that the principle of Dhvani could shine once again in its pristine glory Thus Anandavardhana was able to correlate the concept of Dhvani not only with contemporary poetry, but also with masterpieces of the past like the two epics, and bring the weight of authority to bear on his side In his wider concept of poetry he included not only earlier elements of poetic beauty such as the Gunas and the Alamkāras, but he also included Rasa along with them (काव्यस्य हि ललितोचित सन्निवेशचारुण । —Dhvanyāloka I, Vṛtti) According to Abhinavagupta, the word 'lalita' here refers to Guṇas and Alamkāras (ललितशब्देन गुणालङ्कारानुग्रहमाह। —Locana), and the word 'ucita' refers to propriety arising out of the proper delineation of Rasa (उचितशब्देन रसविषयमेवौचित्य भवतीति दर्शयन रसध्वनेर्जीवितत्वं सूचयति । —Locana) This body of poetry (kāvya-śarīra) necessarily demanded a soul to illumine and inhabit it and this soul was the poetic content (योऽर्थ सहृदयश्लाघ्य काव्यात्मेति व्यवस्थित । —Dhvanyāloka I 2) Thus, at the very outset of his exposition of Dhvani, Anandavardhana accorded to poetic content the exalted status of the soul of poetry, and by a logical implication, reduced the Guṇas, Alamkāras and even Rasa to the subordinate position of the body of poetry Thus his preference was unmistakable poetic content was more important and Rasa was less important, as being one of the provinces of the empire of poetry

This poetic content or kāvyārtha, the soul of poetry, was declared by Ānandavardhana to be of two varieties, vācya or expressed, and pratīyamāna or suggested (वाच्यप्रतीयमानाख्यौ तस्य भेदावुभौ स्मृतौ। —Dhvanyāloka I 2) Thus pratiyamāna sense, found in the masterpieces of all great poets, was something unique in nature, and could not be identified with any of the usual features of poetry like the Alamkāras It was a cumulative effect of all these and yet over and above all these, just as the charm of beautiful ladies is over and above their physical features 'प्रतीयमान पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनां लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु ॥ —Dhvanyāloka I 4) The pratiyamana artha, again, admits of numerous varieties, as arising from only vastu or an idea, alamkāra or a figure, Rasa or an emotion and so on Though all these varieties are implied by the power of vācyārtha only, they are entirely different from vācya (स ह्यर्थो वाच्य सामर्थ्याक्षिप्त वस्तुमात्रमलङ्काररसादयश्चेत्यनेकप्रभेदप्रभिन्नो दर्शयिष्यते। वाच्यादन्यत्वम। —Dhvanyāloka, vṛtti on I 4). Accordingly, it may be styled as vastudhvani, alamkāradhvani and rasadhvani etc It is here that Abhinavagupta declares in the Locana that Rasadhvani is nothing but Dhvani only, and it is mainly regarded as the soul of poetry (यस्तु स्वप्नेऽपि न स्वशब्दवाच्यो न लौकिकव्यवहारपतित किं तु शब्दसमर्प्यमाणहृदयसंवादसुन्दर-विभावानुभावसमुचितप्राग्विनिविष्टरत्यादिवासनानुरागसुकुमारस्वसंविदानन्दचर्वणाव्यापाररसनीय रूपो रस स काव्यव्यापारैकगोचरो रसध्वनिरिति, स च ध्वनिरेवेति स एव मुख्यतयात्मेति। —Locana on I 4) Even Ānandavardhana observes about the Rasādidhvani that it flashes forth on the strength of the expressed sense, but it cannot be the subject of direct mention or expression in words Hence it is totally different from vācyartha (तृतीयस्तु रसादिलक्षण प्रभेदो वाच्यसामर्थ्याक्षिप्त प्रकाशते न तु साक्षाच्छब्दव्यापारविषय इति वाच्याद्विभिन्न एव। —Dhvanyāloka, Vṛtti on I 4)

It is here that a very interesting development occurs in Ānandavardhana's argument In the next Kārikā (I 5), he observes that this meaning itself is the soul of poetry, and as an instance of this, he refers to the famous Krauñcavadha episode in the Rāmāyana, wherein Vālmiki's emotion of grief arising from the separation of the curlew birds assumed the form of a verse (काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादि कवे पुरा। क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थ शोक श्लोकत्वमागत ॥)

The Kārikā is very controversial, and particularly the words, 'adikaveḥ śokah', are quite puzzling A lively discussion has taken place as to whether it is really Vālmiki's personal sorrow that has led to the composition of the Rāmayaṇa In other words can literature be based on actual personal sentiments and feelings? Abhinavagupta has given a convincing reply that it is not Vālmiki's personal sorrow responsible for his poetic utterance, since in the state of grief Vālmiki could never create an immortal poem (ननु मुने शोक

इति मन्तव्यम्। एवं हि सति स्वशब्दवाच्यता स्यात् इत्याशङ्क्य रसस्यात्मत्वेन निरूपितं वस्तु। —Locana on I 5) A good deal of controversy has also risen about the problem 'who was killed' the male bird or the female, and various replies have been given But our interest in the verse lies in one more respect When Anandavardhana says 'Kāvyasyātmā sa evārthah', what does he mean by the words, 'sa evārthah'? Does he mean thereby the pratīyamānam vastu or suggested sense, which is the subject-matter in Kārikā I.4? Or does he mean to say that 'sa evārthah' refers to the variety designated as रसादिलक्षण प्रभेद। mentioned in the vṛtti on the Kārikā I 4? Abhinavagupta is very positive that the words 'sa evārthah' refer to Rasadhvani only, mentioned as the third variety of Pratīyamana artha He adduces two reasons in support of his interpretation The first reason is that the story in the Rāmāyana mentioned by Anandavardhana in the Kārikā is a situation of a Rasa, i e Karunarasa The second reason is that the text of the vṛtti of the Dhvanyāloka which just precedes this Kārikā also refers to Rasadhvani etc, which is only suggested, and never directly expressed in words Hence he observes काव्यस्यात्मेति। स एवेति प्रतीयमानमात्रेऽपि प्रक्रान्ते तृतीय एव रसध्वनिरिति मन्तव्यम् इतिहासबलात् प्रक्रान्तवृत्तिग्रन्थार्थबलाच्च। तेन रस एव वस्तुत आत्मा, वस्त्वलङ्कारध्वनी तु सर्वथा रसं प्रति पर्यवस्येते इति वाच्यादुत्कृष्टौ तावित्यभिप्रायेण 'ध्वनिः काव्यस्यात्मे'ति सामान्येनोक्तम्। —Locana on I 5 In other words, according to Abhinavagupta, when Anandavardhana describes Dhvani or Pratīyamāna artha as the soul of poetry, he is in fact mainly referring to Rasadhvani or Rasa only, and Vastudhvani and Alamkāradhvani are also included in the concept of Ātman, simply because they ultimately lead to Rasadhvani only, and hence are higher than vācyārtha So far as Abhinavagupta's interpretation of the Kārikā is concerned he only equates Dhvani with Rasa or Rasadhvani as just noticed and does not distinguish between Rasa and Dhvani

What remains to be seen now is, how far Anandavardhana's actual treatment of Dhvani bears out Abhinavagupta's interpretation Continuing the discussion of Vālmiki's śoka, Anandavardhana observes that this emotion of śoka is the basis of Karuna or the sentiment of Pathos (शोको हि करुणस्थायिभाव। —Vṛtti on I 5) He also adds that though the Pratiyamāna or suggested sense has been shown by him to possess other varieties such as Vastudhvani and Alamkaradhvani they are mainly indicated through the mention of Rasa and Bhāva only, since Rasa and Bhāva alone are really important (प्रतीयमानस्य चान्यभेददर्शनेऽपि रसभावमुखेनैवोपलक्षणं प्राधान्यात्। —Vṛtti on I 5) And once again Abhinavagupta is quick to point out that Anandavardhana has added this explanation to clear any doubt regarding Pratiyamāna being of three types and Vālmiki's episode

referring to only Rasa as being the Ātman of poetry (ननु प्रतीयमानस्य मात्मा तत्र त्रिभेद प्रतिपादित न तु रसैवरूपम्, अनेन चेतिहासेन रसस्यैवात्ममतत्वमुक्त भवती त्याशङ्क्याभ्युपगमेनैवोत्तरमाह–प्रतीयमानस्य चेति। —Locana on I 5) Thus no contradiction is involved

One more clue to Ānandavardhana's attitude towards Rasa can be obtained from his divisions and subdivisions of Dhvani in the second Uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka He first divides अविवक्षितवाच्य-ध्वनि into two varieties अर्थान्तरसङ्क्रमितवाच्य and अत्यन्ततिरस्कृतवाच्य (Dhvanyāloka II I). Then he divides विवक्षिताभिधेय ध्वनि (Mammaṭa's विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यध्वनि) into असंलक्ष्यक्रमोद्द्योत and क्रमेण द्योतित (i e Mammaṭa's असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यङ्ग्य and लक्ष्यव्यङ्ग्यक्रम) in Dhvanyāloka II 2 He further observes that when Dhvani is principal, it is akrama and admits the varieties of Rasa, Bhāva, Rasābhāṣa, Bhāvābhāsa, Bhāvapraśanti etc. (रसभावतदाभासतत्प्रशान्त्यादिरक्रम । ध्वनेरात्माङ्गिभावेन भासमानो व्यवस्थित । —Dhvanyāloka II 3) Thus in the whole scheme of Ānandavardhana's Dhvani, Rasa and its varieties like Bhāva form one division called Alakṣyakrama, though it is the most important division of Dhvani, where Dhvani is the Angin or principal Here obviously Ānandavardhana has in mind those cases of poetry wherein Rasa Bhāva etc are subordinate, and hence only serve the purpose of Alamkāras such as Rasavat, as pointed out earlier Thus Dhvani is according to Ānandavardhana a wider concept and embraces Rasa Bhāva etc , but if we want to perceive the real essence of Dhvani it will be found in Rasa and Bhāva only Hence he emphatically says ध्वनेरात्माङ्गिभावेन भासमानो व्यवस्थित ॥ We must not miss the real force and import of these words As Abhinavagupta explains it, there is no poetry without Rasa, but where Rasa is the dominating factor, it produces greater poetic charm (स च रसादिध्वनिर्व्यवस्थित एव न हि तच्छून्य काव्य किञ्चिदस्ति। यद्यपि च रसेनैव सर्व जीवति काव्यम्, तथापि तस्य रसस्यैकघनचमत्कारात्मनोऽपि कुतश्चिदशात्प्रयोजकीभूतादधिकोऽसौ चमत्कारो भवति। —Locana on II 3) Ānandavardhana again observes that where the various words, meaning, and Gunas, Alamkāras etc lending charm to them converge in giving rise to Rasa, Bhāva etc , then only we have the real province of Dhvani (वाच्यवाचकचारुत्वहेतूना विविधात्मनाम्। रसादिपरता यत्र स ध्वनेर्विषयो मत ॥ —Dhvanyāloka II 4) Thus he almost equates Rasa with Dhvani, the best variety of poetry

Having established this identity between Rasa and Dhvani Ānandavardhana goes straight ahead and defines poetic concepts like Gunas and Alamkāras only with their reference to Rasa— तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिन ते गुणा स्मृता। अङ्गाश्रितास्त्वलङ्कारा मन्तव्या कटकादिवत ॥ —Dhvanyāloka II 6, and adds that अङ्गिनम अर्थम् here means रसादिलक्षणम अर्थम् proving his intention beyond doubt He had already stated

that both words and their primary meanings subordinate themselves to produce an extraordinary kind of meaning in poetry known as Dhvani (यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ । व्यङ्क्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः ॥ —Dhvanyāloka I 13). Thus all aspects of poetic beauty, viz words, meanings, Guṇas, Alamkāras, etc have their justification not in themselves, but only because they culminate in Dhvani or Rasa Even Samghaṭanā or the specific arrangement of words, phrases, etc has its substratum in Gunas like Mādhurya, and suggests Rasas only— गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती माधुर्यादीन्व्यनक्ति सा । रसान् तन्नियमे हेतुरौचित्यं वक्तृवाच्ययोः ॥ —Dhvanyāloka III 6 The propriety of vaktṛ etc regulating Samghaṭanā is again based on its relation to Rasa and Bhāva Even the composition of a whole poem like the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata is to be planned with a view to suggest Rasa, and all its parts like the Sandhis, Sandhyangas, figures, etc are to be made the vehicles of Rasa—vyañjanā (III 10-14) Even the Vṛttis (modes or styles) are to subserve the purpose of Rasa (रसाद्यनुगुणत्वेन व्यवहारोऽर्थशब्दयोः । औचित्यवान्यस्ता एता वृत्तयो द्विविधाः स्थिताः ॥ —Dhvanyāloka III 33). Not only this, but even Gunibhūta-vyangya, which is supposed to be a rather inferior variety of Kāvya, attains the exalted status of Dhvanikāvya, provided it has a proper modicum of Rasa, Bhāva, etc (प्रकारोऽयं गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्योऽपि ध्वनिरूपताम् । धत्ते रसादितात्पर्यपर्यालोचनया पुनः ॥ —Dhvanyāloka, III 40) In the fourth Uddyota, Anandavardhana again tells us that the development of Rasa, Bhava, etc makes poetic composition an almost endless matter, and that poets must avail themselves of it (युक्त्यानयानुसर्तव्यो रसादिर्बहुविस्तरः । मितोऽप्यनन्ततां प्राप्तः काव्यमार्गो यदाश्रयात् ॥ —Dhvanyāloka IV 3) Not only this, but the same old ideas in poetry assume a novel appearance, they possess a varied charm because of the inclusion of Rasa in them, like trees appearing new in every spring season (दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् । सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः । —Dhvanyāloka IV 4) This idea of the importance of Rasa is illustrated by Anandavardhana with a detailed examination of the Rasas in the Rāmāyana and the Mahabharata Finally he says that if poets go on composing their works with proper attention to Rasa and Bhāva, etc, then even thousands and thousands of masters of speech are not going to exhaust worldly life in their compositions, it is as rich as the source of all the worlds (रसभावादिसम्बद्धा यद्यौचित्यानुसारिणी । अन्वीयते वस्तुगतिर्देशकालादिभेदिनी ॥ वाचस्पतिसहस्राणां सहस्रैरपि यत्नतः । निबद्धा सा क्षयं नैति प्रकृतिर्जगतामिव ॥ —Dhvanyāloka IV 9, 10)

This detailed comparison of the concepts of Rasa and Dhvani throughout the Dhvanyāloka leaves no doubt in our minds that Anandavardhana, the greatest advocate of the Dhvani school, did not really intend to distinguish them as two entirely different con-

cepts. What he intended was to fuse them in an inextricable manner with the result that a poem abounding in Rasa automatically suggested that Rasa, and this amalgamation, this inseparable blending of Rasa and Dhvani, became the hallmark of the best poetry in the language. In a sense, Anandavardhana restored to Bharata's concept of Rasa that glory which it had lost for quite a long time, and Abhinavagupta cemented the two concepts of Rasa and Dhvani, following the two great masters.

ŚĀNTA RASA*

By

R T VYAS

Beginning from the Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra upto the times of Daṇḍin, and Bhāmaha eight Rasas were recognised and treated extensively

Bharata speaks of these eight Rasas —

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणरौद्रवीरभयानका ।
बीभत्साद्भुतसञ्ज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसा स्मृता ॥

(Nāṭya Śāstra 6-15)

and their sthāyins are —

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भय तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावा प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥

(Nāṭya Śāstra 6-17)

Abhinavagupta indicates that later interpolations and changes in Bharata's texts were effected by some advocates of Śānta Rasa as follows —

बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसा स्मृता ।

and

जुगुप्साविस्मयशमा स्थायिभावा प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥

Dr V Raghavan, in his book "The Number of Rasas" writes 'Udbhata recognises the Śānta as can be seen from his "Kāvyālaṅkārasārasangraha" He is thus the first commentator on the Nāṭya Śāstra and the first Alankārika now known to have definitely begun to speak of Rasas as nine in number So, he might have made the necessary alteration in the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra as above shown and as pointed out by Abhinava"

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra, while giving the details of Rasas, like guna, alankāra, vṛtti, the metre, etc does not mention Śānta Rasa anywhere Abhinava in his commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra argues for Śānta Rasa, saying that Śanta is the Prakṛti of all other Rasas, and is implicit, hence Bharata does not mention it explicitly In other words Abhinava does not try to establish Śānta Rasa on the

* Paper read at the Seminar on Rasa-theory held on 19-3-1978 at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

strength of Bharata's mention of it, but on that of his silence which he considers as profoundly suggestive and significant

Dr V Rāghavan says in his book "The Number of Rasas" "*Suffice to point out here that express mention of Śānta is not found* in Bharata If this is accepted, we can trace the way by which Śānta slowly came to be accepted as a Rasa We can even explore the possibility of finding some aspects of Śānta in Bharata's accepted text Bharata, it must be borne in mind, handles the whole world and analyses human psychology to a great extent and it will be a wonder if he was to be entirely innocent of that part of human activity which is the sphere of Śānta Rasa The absence of *Śānta in theory does not, however, mean the absence of poetry or drama with the quietistic motif* To suppose so would be as absurd as to think that before Rasadhvani was formulated as the soul of poetry, no great poetry existed As Ānandavardhana points out, the Rasa of the great epic, the Mahabhārata, is Śānta The Ṛṣis, the fourth puruṣārtha or Mokṣa, the third and fourth Āsramas of the Vānaprastha and the Samnyāsin—these were already parts and sublime *parts of Kāvyas such as the Raghuvamsa and Nātakas such as the* Śākuntala Bharata, himself a *sage, gave the* Nāṭyasāstra to an assemblage of sages Bharata, therefore, could hardly have lost sight of the Ṛṣis the forests, tapas, etc As a matter of fact Bharata does mention aspects of this Śānta Rasa and its attendant conditions An emotion is recognised as Rasa if it is a sufficiently permanent major instinct of man, if it is capable of being developed and delineated to its climax *with its attendant and accessory feelings* and if there are men of that temperament to feel imaginative emotional sympathy at the presentation of that Rasa, and Bharata, having stated all this, says that a certain drama may have its theme or purpose in sama, it certainly means that Bharata has landed, though unconsciously, on the Śānta Rasa Bharata says in the genuine text

क्वचिद्धर्मं क्वचित्क्रीडा क्वचिदर्थं क्वचिच्छम ।
दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ॥

(Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra 1 106)

विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतद् भविष्यति । (B N 1 115)
ब्रह्मर्षीणां च विज्ञेय नाट्य वृत्तान्तदर्शनम् ॥ (B N 1 121)

Abhinava Gupta points out another instance of Bharata's awareness of the element of Śanta It refers to the virāgins, to whom only dramas depicting the Mokṣa can have appeal —

तुष्यन्ति तरुणा कामे विदग्धा समयाश्रिते ।
अर्थेष्वर्थपराश्चैव मोक्षेष्वथ विरागिण ॥ (B.N 27 59)

Bharata also speaks of dramas based on Dharmākhyānapurāna to which the aged, wise and learned persons respond —

धर्माख्यानपुराणेषु वृद्धास्तुष्यन्ति नित्यशः । (B.N. 27.61)

Moreover, while describing Nirveda, Bharata refers to a kind of it that is born of Tattvajñāna, and defining Dhṛti he speaks of śruti, vijñāna, gurubhakti, and śaucācāra as some of its Vibhāvas, and they pertain to Śānta Rasa About Mati, he says that it is born of Nānāśāstravicintana, when Bharata equates Nāṭya with Trailokyānukarana, he could not have overlooked śama etc which are a noble part of human life

These instances simply prove that Bharata did recognise śama as an element of human psychology, but he seems to be of the opinion that it can not possibly be the leading Rasa in drama There was no drama before him that was produced only for the motif of Mokṣa Unlike Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Adbhuta, which may be shown as Anga Rasas and not as Angins, the Śānta is not of a wide appeal Following this line, some Ālankārikas consider śama as almost impossible, for the beginningless Avidyā producing Rāga and Dveṣa, the ground for eight Rasas, cannot be uprooted for good The Avalokakāra on Daśarūpaka states —

"अन्ये तु वस्तुतस्तस्याभाव वर्णयन्ति, अनादिकालप्रवाहायातरागद्वेषयोरुच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात्" ।

But this is not true, for there have been and are sages, who have successfully attained sama Such sages are however, very rare, and hence even Abhinava is obliged to say that Śanta is auxiliary in Nāgānanda Generally drama is for recreation, a Dṛsya and Śravya Krīḍanīyaka which is vinodajanana, and hence Bharata emphasises the fact that the Nāṭya will deal mainly with worldly prosperity and gaiety etc —

अत एव शान्तस्य स्थायित्वेऽप्यप्राधान्यम् । जीमूतवाहने त्रिवर्गसम्पत्तेरेव परोपकृतिप्रधानाया फलत्वात् । अनेनैवाशयेन नाट्यलक्षणे वक्ष्यते "ऋद्धिविलासादिभिगुणैरिति, अनेन हि ऋद्धिविलास प्रधानमर्थकामोत्तर सर्वं चरित सकललोक हृदय सवाद सुन्दरप्रयोजन नाटके निवेशयितव्यमित्युक्तम् ।
(Abhinava's commentary on Nāṭyaśastra)

There are some Ālankārikas who object to Śānta only in Nāṭya, for it requires the action of a Rasa through its Anubhāvas, which is not possible in the case of Śānta Rasa, which according to them, is devoid of all activity But the Śravyakāvya can describe the Śanta Rasa, for what cannot be acted can at least be described The Avaloka on Daśarupaka states —

ननु शान्तरसस्यानभिनेयत्वात् यद्यपि नाट्येऽनुप्रवेशो नास्ति तथापि सूक्ष्मातीतादिवस्तूना सर्वेषामपि शब्दप्रतिपाद्यताया विद्यमानत्वात् काव्यविषयत्व न वार्यते ।

In this regard, a remarkable attempt is made by Ānandavardhanācārya to establish that the main Rasa of Mahābhārata is Śānta —

महाभारतेऽपि शास्त्ररूपे काव्यच्छायान्वयिनि वृष्णिपाण्डवविरसावसानवैमनस्यदायिनी समाप्तिमुपनिबध्नता महामुनिना वैराग्यजननतात्पर्यं प्राधान्येन स्वप्रबन्धस्य दर्शयता मोक्षलक्षण पुरुषार्थं शान्तो रसश्च मुख्यतया विवक्षाविषयत्वेन सूचित । ततश्च शान्तो रसो रसान्तरैर्मोक्षलक्षण पुरुषार्थं पुरुषार्थान्तरैस्तदुपसर्जनत्वेनानुगम्यमानोऽङ्गित्वेन विवक्षाविषय इति महाभारततात्पर्यं सुव्यक्तमेवावभासते । अय च निगूढरमणीयोऽर्थो महाभारतावसाने हरिवंशवर्णनेन समाप्तिं विदधता तेनैव कविवेधसा कृष्ण द्वैपायनेन सम्यक स्फुटीकृत । अनेन चार्थेन संसारातीते तत्त्वान्तरे भक्त्यतिशय प्रवर्तयता सकल एव सांसारिको व्यवहार पूर्वपक्षीकृतो न्यक्षेण प्रकाशते। पाण्डवादिचरितवर्णन यापि वैराग्यजननतात्पर्याद् वैराग्यस्य च मोक्षमूलत्वात् ।

These bold remarks of Ānandavardhana are very illuminating In connection with this passage of Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka, Dr K. Krishnamurthy in his work "Essays in Sanskrit Criticism" observes "Ānandavardhana thinks that the final note of the *Mahābhārata is an unmistakable pointer as to the intention of Vyāsa, which is to emphasise the need for cultivating a sense of detachment* towards worldly pleasures However, promising they may look in the beginning, they are bound to land one in an abyss of dispair in the long run When the greatest heroes could not escape their inevitable doom, how much more true this must be in the case of ordinary men!

"To get over the inevitable doom, there is only one succour, and that is in following the path of Mokṣa or Supreme Beatitude

"Such is the impression one gets finally by reading the concluding episode of the Mahābhārata When we look upon the epic as a Śāstra, we say that its central teaching is Mokṣa as Parama Puruṣārtha or ultimate value This has the support of all traditional *commentaries on the great epic But when we look upon it as a* Kāvya, we would state the same truth differently, and say that the dominant sentiment of the Mahābhārata is Śānta or tranquillity"

The intention of the sage Vyāsa becomes evident when he states often the meanness of worldly pleasures and the insuperable state of "Tṛṣṇākṣayasukha", in verses like—

यथा यथा विपर्येति लोकतन्त्रमसारवत् ।
तथा तथा विरागोऽत्र जायते नात्र संशय ॥

and

यच्च कामसुख लोके यच्च दिव्य महत्सुखम् ।
तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हत षोडशीं कलाम् ॥

The Candrikākāra on Dhvanyāloka says Śānta spoken of by Ānandavardhana is certainly admissible as a Rasa, but it can appear

only as an anga rasa in a Prāsangika itivṛtta and not as the main rasa in an ādhikārika itivṛtta

But Abhinavagupta does not agree with this view of Candrikākāra and establishes that Śānta can be a leading Rasa in poetry and drama both, as we shall see later on

The objection of these Ālankārikas to Śānta being a leading Rasa was mainly due to the fact that the early drama dealt with Arthakāma as Phala and hence eight Rasas only

But how in India especially Śānta Rasa could be kept out of that noble human activity which goes to make up literature? Apart from Mahābhārata as we have seen already, more and more poetic and dramatic compositions became the means of representation of Dharma and Mokṣa as Phala—the aim of life Aśvaghoṣa's "Buddhacarita" and "Saundarananda" are the specimens of spiritual Kāvyas and his Śāriputraprakarana, and an allegorical drama, the fragments of which were discovered by Dr Lüders, mark the beginning of religious or spiritual drama Dr V Rāghavan, therefore holds, that the Buddhistic and Jain poets and dramatists might have been responsible for the introduction of philosophical poems and plays, for making Śānta the Angī Rasa of the Ādhikārika itivṛtta

The advent of Nāgānanda in the field of Indian Literature is a momentous event from the point of view of Śānta Rasa, for it started the regular and earnest discussion on Śanta Rasa in Sanskṛt literary criticism

• The critics of Śanta say that śama is total absence of feelings and activities, and such a state of inaction is not stageable But this is not wholly true Dr Raghavan rightly observes that the state of absolute cessation of action is only the climax, the Paryantabhoomi, and this certainly can not be shown But the Paryantabhoomis of all other rasas sail in the same boat Śṛangara is not denied as a rasa because Samprayoga is unfit to be shown on the stage So, also Murder and Raudra So, the accèptance of Śanta does not mean the attempt to present the impossible cessation of action but means only the portrayal of an ardent spirit in search of Truth and tranquility The manyfold efforts of the Yatamāna his trials, his victories over passions—these can be portrayed with great interest Even one who has attained Truth can be shown and there will be no lack of action in him A Siddha like Janaka will be doing lokasangraha The Gītā speaks of many a thing which a Sthitaprajña does

Bharata's not mentioning the Vibhavānubhāvasamcāribhavas and the vṛtti, Jati, etc of Śānta is also not a valid objection Abhi-

nava has given all these The interpolated Śānta text in Bharata's Nātya Śāstra gives Tattvajñāna, Vairāgya, Āśaya Śuddhi as vibāvas of Śānta Its Anubhāvas are Yama, Niyama, austerities and allied practices Almost all Bhāvas can be Śānta's Sañcāris Abhinava counts more vibhāvas like the contact of Saints, previous good actions, God's grace, study of scriptures, etc One can also enjoy the Anubhāvas of Śānta like, slow disappearance of passion, anger, avarice, infatuation vanity, envy and other evil propensities Moreover in all Bhāvas—the Nirveda and Jugupsā for worldly objects, Dhrti, Mati, Utsāha of the Dayāvīra type, Rati for god as Bhakti and faith stand out prominently

The next objection to Śānta is that unlike all other Rasas, Śānta cannot be relished by humanity generally Avalokakāra on Daśarupaka says —*

न च तथाभूतस्य शान्तस्य सहृदया स्वादयितार सन्ति ।

In answer to this objection Ānandavardhana says that Śānta may not appeal to the masses, but still there will be some great persons to relish it —

यदि नाम सर्वजनानुभवगोचरता तस्य नास्ति नैतावताऽसौ अलोकसामान्यमहानुभावचित्तवृत्तिवत प्रतिक्षेप्तु शक्य ।

Abhinava further develops this argument and says that if Śānta can not be relished by some and on that ground it is excluded from the community of Rasas, then on the same ground Śrangara also should be excluded for it does not have any appeal to the detached persons —

ननु तत्र हृदयसंवादाभावादस्वमानतैव नोपपन्ना क एवमाह नास्तीति ?' यत प्रतीयत एवेत्युक्तम। ननु प्रतीयते, सर्वस्य श्लाघास्पद न भवति। तर्हि वीतरागाणा शृङगारो न श्लाघ्य इति सापि रसाच्च्यवताम् ।

Dr Raghavan says "All these arguments cannot disprove the possibility of Śānta as a Rasa capable of relish by spectators It is bound to be uncommon, all the same, it is as true as the inner experience and the higher life of the mystic which is not in common with the life of ordinary worldly men If Śama is not only a part of the world but a glorious part of it also, it should also be so of the drama " Abhinava says that literature, poetry and drama cannot restrict themselves to the Trivarga only but must get ennobled by embracing the fourth and the greatest Puruṣārtha, Mokṣa also The attitude to mokṣa is Śama and Śānta is the Rasa of the drama which depicts the endeavour to attain that To say that it is impossible to exterminate Rāga and Dveṣa is to insult humanity, its heritage of philosophy and the long chain of its spiritual leaders Surely there are men of that kind who can respond to a Śānta

drama. That hedonists are not able to sit through it cannot disprove Śānta It will be a pity if literature, and drama in particular, cannot rise beyond the level of mere entertainment and gaiety. It has been accepted that all cannot respond to all Rasas If vitas delight in Śṛangāra, Vītarāgas delight in Śānta Bharat also says

> उत्तमाधममध्यानां सङ्कीर्णानां तु संसदि ।
> न शक्यमधमैर्ज्ञातुमुत्तमानां विचेष्टितम् ॥ (N S 27.58)

There is a continuous chain of literature that depicts the Śānta Rasa We have already seen Ānandavardhana's arguments to establish that Mahābhārata stands a model of great Kāvya (epic) of Śānta Next in importance to the Mahābhārata are the Śānta Rasa poems of Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddhacarita and the Saundarananda The following is a list of Śānta Rasa Kāvyas —

1 The Rājataranginī (1.23) of Kalhaṇa mentions Śānta as its Rasa No great history can escape the ultimate suggestion of the noble Śānta Rasa
2 Kaivalyavalli Parinayavilāsa by Travancore Prince
3 Jñānamudrāparinaya Kāvya
4 Hansasandesa
5 Indudūta by Vinayavijayaganī
6 Chetoduta
7 Bhaktidūti by Kāliprasād
8 Manodūta by Viṣnudāsa

Dr Raghavan gives the names of eighteen writers who have similarly written Kavyas of Śānta Rasa

Asvaghoṣa's dramas seem to be the earliest to have Śānta as their dominant Rasa His Śāriputraprakarana deals with the conversion of the hero to the Buddhistic faith And Dr Luder's find, a fragment, is an allegorical spiritual drama Kṛṣnamiśra wrote an Advaita allegory—The Prabodhacandrodaya, about the eleventh century A D This drama inaugurated a regular category of philosophical and allegorical plays, such as —

1 Moharajaparajaya by Yasapala
2 Amṛtodaya—by Gokulnāth
3 Sankalpasūryodaya by Venkatanatha
4 Caitanyacandrodaya by Kavikarnapura

Dr Raghavan gives a list of thirty eight similar dramas Ramanujacārya's career is dramatised in "Yatirājavijaya" by Varadācārya of Kanci "Śivabhaktānandanataka" is on a Śivabhakta Such dramas, being based on real personalities are more truly spiritual for they are more effective than the presentation of abstract spiritual concepts as characters on the stage

Thus dramas on the life of Saints and devotees are Śānta Rasa plays

The Bhartrharinirvedanātaka by *Harihara is* a Śānta play of a superior conception The author in Prastavanā says that it is a Śānta Rasa play and that Śānta is the only lasting Rasa —

श्रीहरिहरप्रणीतेन भर्तृहरिनिर्वेदनाम्ना शान्तरसप्रधानेन नाटकेन तानुपासितुमीहे ।
शृङ्गारादिरनेकजन्ममरणश्रेणीसमारादिते
एणीदृक प्रमुखै स्वदीपकसखैरालम्बनैराजितै ।
अस्त्येन क्षणिको रस प्रतिफल पर्यन्तवैरस्यभू
ब्रह्माद्वैतसुखात्मक परमविश्रान्तो हि शान्तो रस ।

Many Alankārikas accept Śanta Rasa. Udbhata is the earliest among them who mentions in his Kāvyālankārasārasamgraha Bhatt Lollata *believed that Rasas are Ananta, for all minor* Bhāvas are Rasas according to him Sankuka's attitude towards Śānta is not known Rudraṭa recognises Śānta and gives Samyag jñāna as its Prakṛti or Sthāyin —

सम्यग्ज्ञानप्रकृति शान्तो विगतेच्छानायको भवति ।

Ānandavardhana accepts Śānta as a Rasa, and considers Nāgānanda as its illustration and gives Trsnāksayasukha as its Sthāyin Rājasekhara's Kāvyamimāmsā might have recognised the Śānta, *for he follows Rudraṭa, but the chapter on Rasa is lost* Bhatta Tota accepts Śanta, as is indicated by Abhinava His Kāvyakautuka contains a detailed examination of the objections to Śānta and gives a brilliant exposition of it as the greatest Rasa —

मोक्षफलत्वेन चाय परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्य प्रधानतम । स चायमस्मदुपाध्याय भट्टतातेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृतनिर्णय ।

Abhinavagupta in his Locana and Abhinavabhārati accepts Śanta as the greatest Rasa and discusses it at length *Kṣemendra* accepts it as is evident from his Aucityavicāracarcā Bhoja accepts it in his two works viz Sarasvatikanṭhābharana and Śṛṅgāraprakāsa

Thus we can discern definite stages of the acceptance of Śānta as a Rasa Bharata Dhanañjaya and Dhanika who are writers on dramaturgy proper do not accept Śānta as a Rasa The second stage *in the history of Śānta is represented by Candrikākāra, who grants* Śānta as a Rasa but considers that it cannot be the chief Rasa The third stage is marked by its acceptance as a leading Rasa but only in Kāvya, in Nātya it should be only Prāsangika In the fourth and the last stage Śānta *is recognised as main Rasa both in Nāṭya* and Kāvya, and as the greatest Rasa, synthesising all the Rasas in itself

Dr V Raghavan *says* "Śānta is the Rasa of Śama or Tattvajñāna or realisation of the Atman The whole world may be its

uddīpanavibhāva Its Almabanavibhāva is, in case of Bhakti, a personal God, and in other cases, the Ātman or Brahman, its varna or colour is white-Svaccha, its presiding deity is any enlightened soul or Viṣnu or the Brahman, its Vṛtti is either Sāttvati or Kaiśikī, its guṇa is Prasāda, for Śama is the tranquillity and transparence of cittavṛtti or antahkaraṇa, but Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana considers that in Śānta Mādhurya guna exists in a high degree —

द्रुतिहेतुर्माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे, शान्तकरुणविप्रलम्भेषु सातिशयम् ।

Jagannātha is also of the same opinion for he thinks that the greatest amount of Mādhurya is found in Śānta —

तत्र शृङ्गारे संयोगाख्ये यन्माधुर्यं ततोऽतिशय करुणे, ताभ्या विप्रलम्भे, तेभ्योऽपि शान्ते ।

Mammata in his Kāvyaprakāśa says —

आह्लादकत्व माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे द्रुतिकारणम् ।
करुणे विप्रलम्भे तच्छान्ते चातिशयान्वितम् ॥

These Alankārikas seem to have in their mind—the Brahmānanda being the end of Śānta Rasa Verily bliss unalloyed must be sweetest—Madhuratama.

It is stated that Bharata did not accept Śānta as a Rasa, hence he has not given its Sthāyin But Abhinava and some other Alankārikas say that in the statement of Samcāris, Bharata has mentioned Nirveda first which is Sthāyin of Śanta, and Nirveda is amangala So, according to Dehalideepanyāya—a lamp on threshold—Bharata wanted to suggest the existence of Śānta Rasa But evidently this is far-fetched and need not be taken seriously

Dr V Raghavan says "There is no doubt on this point that the section on Śānta opened the section on Rasas and appeared even before Śṛngāra in some old Manuscripts which Abhinava consulted —

तथा चिरन्तनपुस्तकेषु स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्याम इत्यनन्तर शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मक इत्यादि शान्तलक्षण पठ्यते ।

Abhinava made out a case on the basis of this priority of Śānta in the treatment of Rasas He says that it is because the Sthāyin of Śānta is Sthāyin *par-excellence*, being the Ātman itself on which arise the comparatively less basic Sthāyins, Rati etc and because all Rasāsvāda is of the form of Śanta, being Alaukika and free from worldly links Śānta is the greatest Rasa and hence it is dealt with in the beginning —

शान्तस्य सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।

Udbhat, Dr Raghavan thinks, may be responsible for introducing the Śānta texts in the Naṭyaśāstra

If śama ıs accepted as Sthāyın of Śānta the number of Bhāvas gıven by Bharata would be fifty ınstead of forty nıne So, some hold Nırveda as the Sthāyın of Śānta, for ıt figures ın the fortynıne gıven by Bharata

Rudraṭa holds Samyagjñāna as the Sthāyın of Śānta Ānandavardhana gıves Tṛṣṇākṣayasukha as ıts Sthāyın —

शान्तश्च तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्य य परिपोष तल्लक्षणो रस प्रतीयत एव । तथा चोक्तम्-

यच्च कामसुख लोके यच्च दिव्य महत्सुखम् ।
तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हत षोडशीं कलाम् ॥

Mammata accepts Nırveda as the Sthāyın of Śānta —

निर्वेदस्यामगलप्रायस्य प्रथममनुपादेयत्वेपि उपादान व्यभिचारित्वेपि स्थायित्वाभिधानार्थम्, तेन

"निर्वेदस्थायिभावाख्य शान्तोऽपि नवमो रस ।

Some accept Utsāha as the Sthāyın of Śānta, but that beıng the Sthāyın of Vīra which ıs based on ego, does not suıt well wıth Śānta Dayāvıra, Dharmavıra etc may be the phases of Śanta

Abhınava says that if we follow thıs lıne of thought any of the eight Stayıns may be put forward as Sthāyın of Śānta He states this ın a very ınterestıng passage

एव समस्त वैकृत पश्यत (हास्य) विश्व च शोच्य पश्यत (करुण), सासारिक च वृत्तम् अपकारित्वेन पश्यत (रौद्र), सातिशय असमोहप्रधान वीर्यमाश्रितवत (वीर) सर्वस्मात् विषय सर्यात् बिभ्यत (भयानक), सर्वलोकस्पृहणीयादपि प्रमदादे जुगुप्समानस्य (बीभत्स), अपूर्वस्वात्मातिशयलाभात् विस्मयमानस्य (अदभुत) मोक्षसिद्धिरिति हासादिना विस्मयान्तानां स्थायित्व निरूपणीयम्"

Dr Raghavan says "The very possıbılıty of each or all of the eight Sthāyıns beıng the Sthayın of Śanta prevents any one of them beıng the settled Sthāyın of Śānta It cannot also be held that accordıng to cırcumstances, the Sthāyın varıes ın Śanta A Multi Sthayınned Rasa ıs foreign to the Rasa theory and is an ımpossibılıty The real sıgnıficance of thıs view however lıes ın another dırection It poınts to the fact that any or all the other Sthāyıns become the Vyabhicarıns of Śānta One may pass to Śama from Rati or Śoka, as a result of broken love, or the death of a beloved person Aśoka fought the Kalıngas and passed from Vīra to Śānta Therefore any of the eıght Rasas or all of them can be the Uddīpaka of Śānta Hence Śārngdeva says that Śama is present in all Rasas —

शम सर्वरसेष्वस्ति स्थैर्यंत्वे व्यभिचार्यसौ ।

लोके शृङ्गारादिषु अष्टसु मध्ये य कश्चन रसमनुभवत एव पुनो अन्मान्तरगुरुतपविशेषव शात् शम उत्पद्यत इति तत्तद्रससचयात् शमस्य सर्वरसेषु अस्तित्वम ।

One view suggests that all the eight can be considered as constituting together the Sthāyin, taking Śānta as a peculiar Rasa —

अन्ये तु पानकरसवत् अविभाग प्राप्ता सर्वं एव रत्यादयोऽत्र स्थायिन इत्याहु । चित्तवृत्तीनामयुगपद् भावात्, अन्योन्य च विरोधात् एतदपि न मनोज्ञम् ।

It is true that as Pūrvapakṣa, the whole world is involved in Śānta, but all these form only Vyabhicārins Abinava says —

तत्वज्ञानलक्षणस्य च स्थायिन समस्तोऽप्य लौकिकालौकिकचित्तवृत्तिकलापा व्यभिचारितामभ्येति ।

Then which is Sthāyin of Śānta? Abhinava holds that Ātmajñāna itself is the Sthāyin of Śānta —

कस्तर्ह्यत्र स्थायी ? उच्यते– इह तत्व-ज्ञानमेव तावन्मोक्षसाधन इति तस्यैव स्थायिता युक्ता ।

तत्वज्ञान च आत्मज्ञानमेव । तेन आत्मैव ज्ञानानन्दादिविशुद्धधर्मयोगी परिकल्पितविषयोपभोगरहितोऽत्र स्थायी ।

Ātman is the basis and root of all other Sthāyins It is upon the substratum of this ultimate Sthāyin that, as a result of sense-contacts with external objects, the other eight Sthayins are created Behind Rati Hasa etc is the eternal Ātmā Rati and other Sthāyins rise and fall but Ātman is Sthayitama

Therefore it is, says Abhinava, that Bharata does not mention this Śanta Rasa and its Sthāyin Ātmā For it belongs to a higher plane and it would have been improper if Bharata had given it among Rati etc —

तत्वज्ञान तु सकलभावान्तरभित्तिस्थानीय सर्वस्थायिभ्य स्थायितम सर्वा रत्यादिका चित्तवृत्ती व्यभिचारीभावयन् निसर्गत एव सिद्धस्थायीति तन्न वचनीयम् । अत एव पृथगस्य गणना न युक्ता ।

This Atman makes all the fortynine Bhāvas, which include Sthayins also Vyabhicārins, but Ātmajñāna never becomes Vyabhicārin anywhere Hence Bharata has not mentioned it People naturally see objects and feel Rati etc But realisation of the Ātman requires this process to be reversed and meditation to be resorted which is not possible for the masses hence Bharata did not mention it

न चास्य आत्मस्वभावस्य व्यभिचारित्वम् असभवात सर्वंचिद्व्यावहत्वात अनौचित्याच्च । मम आत्मस्वभाव ।

The text on Śānta found in some recensions of Bharata s Natya śastra describes Śānta as the Prakṛti and Rati and other Bhāvas as its Vikāras, which rise and fall appear and disappear on the Ātman and ultimately merge in it

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु स शान्तः प्रथितो रसः॥
भावाः विकाराः रत्याद्याः शान्तस्तु प्रकृतिर्मतः।
विकारः प्रकृतेर्जातः पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते।
स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्ताद्भावः प्रवर्तते।
पुनर्निमित्तापाये च शान्त एवोपलीयते॥

Abhinava says that the relish of all Rasas is alaukika, shorn of all *mundane associations, and hence Śāntaprāya. The bliss* realised in Rasāvāda is akin to Brahmāsvāda. Jagannātha pursued this line and said that Rasa *is the manifestation of the light of Atman* itself when the obscuring elements fall away. Poetry and drama remove the bars and Ātman manifests itself:—

"वस्तुतस्तु वक्ष्यमाणश्रुतिस्वारस्येन भग्नावरणा चिदेव रसः॥

If we apply Adhyāropāpavādanyāya here, we may assert that all other Rasas are adhyāropita on the Śānta Ātman, only to be sublated later, so that Śānta Ātman alone remains, as the eternal Reality. All Rasas lead in the end to the one real, most permanent and the greatest Rasa-Śānta.

AN OBITUARY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

(22 8 1908 — 5 4 1979)

By

K. K RAJA

We regret to announce the sad and sudden demise of Dr V Raghavan, Retired Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras on 5 4 1979 He was an eminent Sanskritist and a well known authority on Indian aesthetics and criticism, music and dramaturgy, manuscriptology, the Rāmayana and Indian culture On the Śri Ramanavami day, he presided over a seminar on the Rāmāyana at the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute Madras and spoke with emotion about the magnanimous qualities of Rāma, the same night he passed away due to heart failure

Dr V Raghavan was born on 22 8 1908 at Tiruvarur, in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu, the birth place of Muthusvami Dikṣitar, one of the famous Trinity in Carnatic Music After his school education he came to Madras and joined the Presidency College and had higher education in Sanskrit under Mahamahopadhyaya S Kuppuswami Sastrigal Later he was initiated in Research methodology by Sastrigal himself who guided him to wade through Bhoja's encyclopaedic work on literary criticism *Śṛngāraprakāśa* and prepare his doctoral thesis on it This excellent thesis, when published in 1963, won for him the Sahitya Academy Award for Sanskrit

After his education he worked for a few months in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore and then joined the Madras University as an assistant for the newly started project of New Catalogus Catalogorum Later he was made a Lecturer in the Sanskrit Department to work in the Catalogus section under Prof C Kunhan Raja The first volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* appeared in 1949 After the retirement of Prof Kunhan Raja Dr Raghavan became the Head of the department and became Professor in 1954 He published the second volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* in 1966 and the revised edition of the First volume in 1968 Dr K. Kunjunni Raja was appointed Associate Editor in 1967 and during the period of 1967 69 volumes 3 4 and 5 were published in quick succession Dr Raghavan retired from the University

end of 1968, and immediately got the Nehru Fellowship for two years from January 1969 to work on a Critical edition of the Sanskrit text of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Later the Harvard Oriental Series offered to publish the text More than 800 pages were printed, the rest of the matter still remaining ready for the press, when he passed away

The work in the Catalogus Catalogorum section brought Dr Raghavan into close contact with many a rare Sanskrit text and he became thoroughly familiar with every nook and corner of Sanskrit and allied literature He published several papers on identity and date problems in Sanskrit literature, not only in his special field of music and criticism but in other fields as well He was the editor of the *Journal of Music Academy,* and the *Journal of Oriental Research* He started a Sanskrit dramatic troupe the *Samskrta Ranga,* and staged several classical Sanskrit dramas and some of his own at Madras and other places in India, the Sanskrita Ranga was also publishing *annuals* containing research papers on various aspects of Sanskrit Drama and staging

Dr Raghavan has an honoured place among modern creative Sanskrit writers also He wrote a Mahākāvya called *Muttusvāmi dīkṣitacarita*, on the life and works of the famous music composer Muthusvami Dīkṣitar, in appreciation of this work H H Śri Śankarācārya of Kamakoti Peetham bestowed on him the title of *Kavikokila* in 1955 Dr Raghavan was revising it and adding new verses to it now and then It is a pity that he was not able to see it published during his life time

He wrote and produced several one-act plays for the All India Radio *Rasalīlā, Kāmasuddhi, Lakṣmīsvayaṃvara, Punarunmeṣa, Mahāsvetā, Asaḍhasya Prathamadivase* and *Prekṣanakatrayi* (on the lives of three poetesses Vijjikā, Vikaṭanitambā and Avantisundari) The themes are taken from Purānic episodes or legends, but they are given an original turn and copious quotations from classical texts are also introduced *Naṭipūjā* and *Valmikipratibhā* are translations from Tagore *Vimukti* is a social play with an allegoric content

In his long prose play *Anārkali* he has taken up an Islamic and historical theme he changed the tragic end to a happy one of the lovers union with the blessings of the Emperor It strongly advocates cultural harmony and contains detailed discussions about the various religious views Originally written in 1931, it was first produced in 1968 and published in 1972

He was the editor of the *Samskṛta Pratibhā* published by the Central Sahitya Academy and devoted to modern creative writing in

Sanskrit He has published many short writings of his in this journal.

When the Government of India set up a Commission under the Chairmanship of Prof Sunitikumar Chatterjee to consider the position of Sanskrit education in India and to suggest means of encouraging the development of Sanskrit, Dr V Raghavan was nominated as one of the members He was one of the most active members of the commission, and made many valuable suggestions As a result of the Commission's report the Government of India set up a permanent Sanskrit Board of which Dr V Raghavan was made the Chairman He contributed regular articles in their annual publication, *Current Literature*, surveying the current Sanskrit literature He was connected with various bodies of the Rashtriya Sanskrita Samsthan — such as the Publication Board He was nominated as the Chairman of the Sanskrit Vidyapeeth Committee at Tirupati He was also an active member of the Central Sangeet Nataka Academy and the Central Lalita Kala Academy For several years he was one of the Secretaries of the All India Oriental Conference, he presided over the Classical Sanskrit Section and the Technical Science and Fine Arts Section, and was the General President when the Conference was held at Srinagar When the International Sanskrit Association was started, he became its first President He had planned to go to its third Session at Weimar in May 1979, before death took him away In 1979 the Sahitya Academy made him an honorary Fellow

Dr Raghavan has published several books and articles A detailed account of the bibliography of Dr Raghavan's writings was published at the time of his *Ṣaṣṭyabdapurti* in 1968 Several Felicitation volumes were also brought out, one of the Adyar Library exclusively devoted to papers from foreigners, one from Motilal Banarsidass, and as a special volume of Sanskrita Ranga Annual

Among his works other than the Bhoja's *Śṛngaraprakāsa* and the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* are *Some concepts of Alamkara Sastra* and the *Number of Rasas* on literary criticism He edited the *Nṛttaratnāvali* of Jayasena and *Śṛngaramañjari* by Akbarshah Popular booklets on *Social play in Sanskrit, Lost Rama Plays in Sanskrit, Ramayana in Greater India, Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India, Treatment of Love in Kalidāsa* etc are well known His Patel Memorial Lectures on the Saints and Singers of India were published under the title *The Great Integrators* He has also edited several other interesting Sanskrit works like the *Snusavijaya, Sarva devavilāsa* (dealing with Madras), *Mudrarakṣasakathasāra* and the *Sahendravilasa* In the *Spiritual Heritage of Thyagaraja* he trans

lated the songs and gave an excellent and detailed account of the musical tradition His contribution to the *Indian Heritage* is also valuable and recognised

Dr Raghavan had travelled throughout the world. As a member of the Sanskrit Commission he had occasion to visit all parts of India and get firsthand information about the position of Sanskrit Studies In 1953 he travelled throughout Europe collecting information about Sanskrit manuscripts collections He also visited U S A , Canada, Russia, Japan, South East Asia and Mexico Last year he had been to Burma as an expert to advise on Manuscripts preservation. On the basis of the information collected during these visits he wrote books like *Indological Studies in Europe* and *Indological Studies in America.*

Dr Raghavan's demise is an irrepairable loss to Sanskrit studies and has created a seat of vacuum which it is not easy to fill I had the privilege of working with him closely for several years in the New Catalogus Catalogorum in the Sanskrit Department, in various committees and examination bodies, and travelled with him in London and Mexico as well as in various parts of India He was always ready to help and was full of enthusiasm

395t

NOTES & NEWS

BHAVAN'S ANCIENT INSIGHTS AND MODERN DISCOVERIES PROJECT

Some important land marks in the progress of the Project

In the year 1977 a Project Outline detailing the nature, scope, methodology and ancient achievements in certain subject fields of Science and Technology along with an elaborate and near-comprehensive list of subjects for correlative research was prepared to form the basis of the work of the A I M D Department

On April 30 and May 1, 1977 a symposium on Ancient Insights and Modern Discoveries was inaugurated The symposium enabled the Bhavan to identify specific fields for intensive research Work on Atomic theory, Astronomy and Radio Astronomy was begun A literature survey of these subjects in printed books and manuscripts is being done A number of scholars, Indologists and Scientists have evinced great interest in the work and have been assisting us in various ways

Life and Health Sciences have also equally engaged the attention of the Department Considerable work of literature survey has already been done Heuristic research utilising modern sophisticated techniques is being carried out In particular Liver diseases have engaged the attention of a dedicated group of doctors led by Dr Ashok B Vaidya Citation Index from ancient writings in sanskrit and other languages is also being done A Monograph on concepts of health and disease from ancient times to the modern day is being prepared A survey of household remedies through a questionnaire is currently being conducted Some of the eminent aged Vaidyas are being interviewed and their wisdom and experience are being recorded for the welfare of prosperity A Health Research Centre with a multi-disciplinary approach to disease is being planned at Bhavan s Andheri Campus A workshop on Ancient Indian Astronomy was held on the 24 and 25th of March 1979 at Bombay The following eminent scholars participated in it

1 Dr S M R Ansari Physics Dept, Aligarh Muslim University

2 Dr Bandyopadhyay, Meteorologist In Charge, Regional Meteorological Centre, New Alipore Calcutta

3 Dr Gupta R C Associate Professor of Mathematics, Birla Institute of Technology, Ranchi, Bihar

4 Dr Rangachari, TIFR, Maths Dept, Colaba, Bombay

5 Prof T S Kuppanna Sastry, Madras

6 Dr K V Sarma, V V Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Punjab University, Hoshiarpur

7 Dr. S R Sarma, Sanskrit Dept, Aligarh Muslim University

8 Prof M L Sharma, Jyotish Dept, Sanskrit University, Varanasi

9 Dr S D Sharma, Physics Dept, Punjab University, Patiala

10 Prof Ajay Mitra Shastri, Dept of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Nagpur University

11 Dr Saroj Singh V TIFR, Bombay

12 Prof R Sridharan, School of Mathematics, TIFR, Bombay

13 Dr B V Subbarayappa, Adviser (Academic), Nehru Centre Worli, Bombay

The Department has recently also taken up on hand two other subject fields (1) Rasa Shastra (Iatro-Chemistry) (2) Environmental Science

A Project like this which is unique naturally depends to a great extent upon the dedicated co-operation from Sanskrit scholars and Scientists We are glad to say that such co-operation has come in sufficient measure but we would like to appeal to all sanskrit lovers who can assist us in any manner to contact the undersigned In particular we require assistance for the new projects we have started Scholars who are acquainted with manuscript survey, identification of worthwhile subject fields and ability to translate Sanskrit technical matter into English may also correspond with us Further suggestions regarding subjects that could be in future taken up may also be sent We also invite papers and other original written material bearing on our subjects for our proposed Journal Correspondence may be sent to Shri R A Kashyap, Project Officer, Department of Ancient Insights and Modern Discoveries, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Munshi Sadan, K M Munshi Marg Chowpatty, Bombay-400 007

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ SERIES

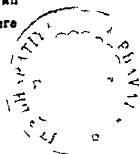
No.		Title	Rs.
1.	*	विसुद्धिमग्ग by Buddhaghoṣācārya, ed. Dharmananda Kosambi	16.00
2.	*	भरतेश्वर बाहुबलिरास ed Muni Jinavijayaji	1 00
3.	*	ज्ञानदीपिका महाभारततात्पर्यटीका *on the* उद्योगपर्व by Devabodha, ed Dr. S. K. De	4 00
4		भगवद्गीता भारतीयदर्शनानि च Mm Anantakrishna Shastri	4 00
5.		चन्द्रलेखासट्टक by Rudradāsa, ed Dr. A. N Upadhye	10.00
6	*	गुजराती स्वरव्यञ्जनप्रक्रिया Gujarati translation of Dr. Turner's 'Gujarati Phonology' by Prof K. K. Shastri	2 00
7	*	वेदवादद्वात्रिंशिका by Siddhasenadivakara, ed *Pandit Shukhlalji*	*20 00*
8		रसरत्नप्रदीपिका by Allarāja, ed Dr R N. Dandekar	3.00
9	*	शतकत्रयी by Bhartṛhari with a new commentary, ed. D. D Kosambi	6 00
10	*	Puranic Words of Wisdom, ed Dr A P. Karmarkar	2 00
11		अन्योक्त्यष्टकसंग्रह ed Miss Pratibha Trivedi	2 00
12	*	वेदभाष्यसार by Bhattoji Dikshita, ed Pandit R. K Patanakar, Introduction by Prof P K. Gode	1.00
13	*	*अर्थवादविचार by Kshirasamudravāsimiśra, ed. Acharya T. A, V. Dikshitar*	1.00
14	*	कौमुदीमहोत्सव by Smt Shakuntala Rao Shastri	5.00
15		कादम्बरी-पूर्वभाग भालणकृत ed Prof K K Shastri	4 00
16	*	Sacrifice in Rigveda by Prof K. R Potdar	15 00
17	*	वाग्व्यापार by Dr Harivallabh C. Bhayani	8 50
18	*	*मदनमोहना by Shamala Bhat, ed Dr. H. C Bhayani*	*6 00*
19	*	*सिंहासनबत्रीशी (Stories 18-22) by Shamala Bhat*, ed *Dr. H. C. Bhayani* ..	*8 00*
20		वेतालपचीसी by Shamala Bhat, ed. A. S. Patel	8 00
21		व्यवहारप्रकाश by Prithvichandra (from his धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि, Part I, critically ed J H Dave	12 00
22		*नरसिंह युगना कविओ by K M Munshi*	3 00
23	*	Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII—ed and translated into English with Critical Notes and Introduction by Prof H D Velankar	20 00
24.		मदनबत्रीसी अने कस्तुरचंदनी वारता by Shamala Bhat, ed Smt. Indira Merchant and Dr Ramesh Jani	10 00
25	*	*Deposed King Thibaw of Burma in India 1885-1916 by W. S Desai* ..	7 00
26		Syadvādamuktavalī or Jainaviseṣatarka and Bhāvasaptatikā by Śrī Yasasvatsāgara ed by Prof S A Upadhyaya	3 00
27		Vedanta Tattvaloka by Janārdana ed by Acharya T. A V Dikshitar, Introduction in English by Prof S A Upadhyaya and Preface in Sanskrit by Acharya S Subrahmanya Sastri	8 00
28		The Brahma Sūtras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol. I, by Dr B N K. Sharma	35 00
29		Manu smṛti with nine commentaries by Medhatithi, Sarvajñanārāyana, Kullūka Rāghavananda, Nandana, Rāmacandra, Manirama, Govindarāja and Bharuci, Vol. I (Adhyāyas 1-2), ed by J H Dave	40.00
30		Ṛksūktasati with important Padapāṭha, English Translation, Critical Notes Select Glossary etc by Professor H D Velankar; with an Introduction by Professor S A Upadhyaya	*27.00*
31		Bibliography of Theses in the Subject of Gujarati Language and Literature (upto 1970), compiled by Dr N I Pandya	1 50
32		The Brahma Sūtras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol. II, by Dr B N K Sharma	45 00
33		Manu Smriti Vol II with nine commentaries (Adhyāyas 3-4) Ed by J H Dave	60 00
34		The Mahābharata—A Study of the Critical Edition (with special reference to the Suparnakhyāna of the Ādiparvan) by Prof. Mahesh M Mehta	12 00
35		*Cultural Sources from the Veda by Dr Sadashiv Ambadas Dange* ..	*15 00*
36		The Brahma-Sūtras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol III by Dr B N K Sharma	120 00
37		Manu-Smriti, Vol. III with nine Commentaries (Adhyayas 5-6) Ed by J H Dave	50 00

* Asterisked titles are out of print.

Printed by V. Varadarajan at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505, Tardeo Arthur Road, Bombay 400 034, and Published by S Ramakrishnan, Executive Secretary, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulapati K. M. Munshi Marg, Bombay 400 007.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A quarterly research organ of the Bhavan
on all subjects connected with Indian Culture



VOLUME XXXIX No 3
1979

Editors

PROF JAYANTKRISHNA H DAVE M A LL B
PROF S A. UPADHYAYA, M A.



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY-400 007

Issued in October 1979

of feminine duality may not be unique to ancient Indian culture, its incredibly wide contrast is.

Analysing the Indian mind, Professor Ainslie Embree suggests, "It may be that the literature is the product of a class of men who, valuing asceticism, resented the passion aroused in them by women. or it may be that the complexity of the Indian attitude represents a true understanding of human nature."[2] This observation well applies to the Buddha's mind vis-a-vis his attitude toward women. As a comprehender of complex human nature he fully understood women's capaciousness, and as an ascetic he recoiled from them.

In his several dialogues with Ananda, the great advocate of women's cause according to Buddhist literature, Gotama displays this contrary attitude:

> "Women are soon angered, Ananda; women are full of passion, Ananda; women are envious, Ananda, women are stupid, Ananda: that is the reason, Ananda, that is the cause, why women have no place in public assemblies, do not carry on a business and do not earn their living by any profession."[3]

Again Ananda sought advice of Gotama lying on his death bed, as to how the monks should behave with women:

> "How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to women?" "Do not see them, Ananda." "But if we should see them, what are we to do?" "Abstain from speech" "But if they speak to us Lord, what are we to do?" "Keep wide awake, Ananda."[4]

Ram Prasad Chaudhary considers this as a special advice to Ananda 'bidding him beware of his own weakness'[5] Chaudhary's observation seems unacceptable on account of lack of further evidence regarding Ananda's weakness for women.

Though the foregoing data reveals Gotama as a male chauvinist, we have some contrary evidence too. He has been considered to be the liberator of women by scholars such as, Kirtisinghe[6] and Ms I. B. Horner.[7] Gotama, with his great compassion and deep understanding of complex human nature, could not possibly have denied the capacity of women to attain the highest. Ananda once asked him:

2 Ainslie T Embree, ed, *The Hindu Tradition* (1966, rpt New York Vintage, 1972), p 86
3 Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (New York Putnam's sons, 1916), p. 162
4 Christmas Humphreys, *Buddhism* (London Cassell & Co, 1951), p 65
5 Rama Prasad Chaudhari, "Position of Women as in Early Buddhist Monasticism," *Buddhist India*, 1, No 2 (1927), 187-194
6 Buddhadasa Kirtisinghe, "The Buddha and the Basic Human Rights," AP 40, No 1 (1969), 16-20 See also footnote 21
7 I B Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism* (New York: E P Dutton. 1930), pp 95-117.

WOMEN'S LIBERATOR: BUDDHISM OR THE BUDDHA?

By

JAYANA SHETH

Introduction Commentators and scholars have interpreted Buddha's life and teachings in different ways They concern themselves with the life and personality of Gotama, or his religion and teachings, or their implications on the ever changing society since 600 B C

An inherent risk in interpreting antiquity is the scholars frequent omission to recognize the spirit in which the ideas were formulated To be contemporaneous with the period of origination of concepts and philosophies is obligatory for any scholar to arrive at a judicious conclusion.

There is another important aspect of scholarly involvement to be considered Many researches have been motivated by the emergence of new social, cultural and political problems in their own times The concurrence of women's liberation in modern times with researches in the area of women's position in different periods of history is not a mere accident. Current issues often generate new interest in the relevant aspects of past ages A scholar, therefore, has to be cautious not to tilt the balance, the line is thin between zeal and detachment

Most of the views on 'women and Buddha', few though they may be, depict Buddha as a chauvinist, a liberator, or a confused character

The writer has here tried to develop a theory that it was not Gotama the Buddha, who was a champion of women s cause or a social reformer, but it was his message that inspired women to know themselves and their place in society Buddhism therefore was the energizing source for them, and Buddha was the enervating one However, for those women the founder and his teachings were indistinguishable For our judicious evaluation today they are distinct from each other

A woman's position in any society is indicative of the strength of that culture and the evolution of its social pattern

The ambivalence of ancient Indian attitude toward women has intrigued many a scholar Either she is adored as a source of life, love and strength, or condemned as a den of vileness Either she is respected as a mother, an incarnation of the goddess of power, or she is branded as mere chattel [1] On one hand she is worshipped as a deity, by far surpassing the Medieval European code of chivalry, on the other, she is cursed as a sensuous temptress, comparable to legendary sorceresses in the Western Culture Though the paradox

1 Johann J Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India* (New York Barnes and Noble Inc., 1953), p. 463, 518

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

CONTENTS

★

> Are women competent, Reverend Sir, if they retire from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and the Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, to attain to the fruit of conversion to attain to the fruit of once returning to attain to the fruit of never returning, to attain to saintship..."[8]

To this Gotama replied that women were competent to achieve all these

Gotama's awareness of the inherent qualities of women lie in uneasy balance with his three flat denials to Mahāpajāpati who came with five hundred other women to be admitted to the Order and start the Order of Nuns as well when he was in Kapilvatthu The women seemed determined A little later, they shaved their heads put on the robes and walked from Kapilvatthu to Vesali (where Gotama was then residing), to entreat him afresh Ananda saw their bleeding bare feet and voluntarily donned guise probably as a testimony of their immense faith, and pleaded their case After three attempts he finally succeeded in acquiring the permission, provided the women accepted 'eight weighty rules (garudhamma) that Gotama specified They were

"(1) a nun even of hundred years standing shall salute a monk and rise up before him, even if he is just ordained (2) a nun shall not spend retreat in a place where there is no monk (3) twice a month a nun shall ask from the Order of the monks the time of *Uposathā* and the time when a monk will come to give admonition, (4) after retreat, the final ceremony (*pavarna*) is to be held by the nuns in the assembly both of monks and nuns, (5) certain offences are to be dealt with by both assemblies (6) a novice who has been trained in the six rules for two years is to ask for ordination from both assemblies, (7) a nun is not to rebuke or abuse a monk on any pretext (8) from this day forth utterance of nuns to monk is forbidden, of monks to nuns is not forbidden "[9]

It is obvious, these rigid rules put the nuns in humiliatingly inferior position to the monks But since the rules seemed conventional and hence unobjectionable, Mahāpajapati conceded to them This entire episode was perhaps the first movement in the world for women s emancipation, complete with rally, negotiations and compromise May be it was a 600 B C version of the burning issue of the 20th century A D , and therefore more sombre, less demanding and more compromising

8 Culla-Vaggā (x 1/3) Henry Clarke Warren *Buddhism in Translation* (1896 rpt. New York Atheneum, 1972) p 443
9 Edward J Thomas *The Life of Buddha* (London Kegan Paul 1927) pp 108-109

of feminine duality may not be unique to ancient Indian culture its incredibly wide contrast is

Analysing the Indian mind, Professor Ainslie Embree suggests, "It may be that the literature is the product of a class of men who, valuing asceticism, resented the passion aroused in them by women, or it may be that the complexity of the Indian attitude represents a true understanding of human nature"[2] This observation well applies to the Buddha's mind vis-a vis his attitude toward women. As a comprehender of complex human nature he fully understood women's capaciousness, and as an ascetic he recoiled from them.

In his several dialogues with Ananda, the great advocate of women's cause according to Buddhist literature, Gotama displays this contrary attitude

> "Women are soon angered, Ananda women are full of passion Ananda, women are envious Ananda, women are stupid, Ananda that is the reason, Ananda that is the cause why women have no place in public assemblies, do not carry on a business and do not earn their living by any profession."[3]

Again Ananda sought advice of Gotama lying on his death bed, as to how the monks should behave with women

> How are we to conduct ourselves Lord with regard to women?" 'Do not see them Ananda.' "But if we should see them, what are we to do? 'Abstain from speech" 'But if they speak to us Lord, what are we to do?" Keep wide awake Ananda.'[4]

Ram Prasad Chaudhary considers this as a special advice to Ananda 'bidding him beware of his own weakness'[5] Chaudhary's observation seems unacceptable on account of lack of further evidence regarding Ananda's weakness for women

Though the foregoing data reveals Gotama as a male chauvinist, we have some contrary evidence too He has been considered to be the liberator of women by scholars such as, Kirtisinghe[6] and Ms I B Horner[7] Gotama, with his great compassion and deep understanding of complex human nature, could not possibly have denied the capacity of women to attain the highest Ananda once asked him

2 Ainslie T Embree ed, *The Hindu Tradition* (1966 rpt New York Vintage 1972), p 86
3 Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (New York Putnam's sons 1916), p. 162
4 Christmas Humphreys, *Buddhism* (London Cassell & Co. 1951), p 65
5 Rama Prasad Chaudhari Position of Women as in Early Buddhist Monasticism," *Buddhist India* 1 No 2 (1927) 187-194
6 Buddhadasa Kirtisinghe "The Buddha and the Basic Human Rights" AP 40, No 1 (1969), 16-20 See also footnote 21
7 I B Horner *Women Under Primitive Buddhism* (New York E P Dutton. 1930) pp 95-117

points "to a period when the prosperity of the Buddhist congregation depended heavily on the patronage of one or more Buddhist queens and contribution by ladies of high social rank"[15] He further quotes Rowland, "There are indications that the Buddhist establishments were supported by queens of the ruling house while the kings were followers of Hinduism"[16]

* * *

How would one explain the Buddha's mind? On one hand he knew the capacity of women and on the other, he seemed apprehensive of men who would fall victims to the snares of women, or more precisely, to men's own weakness of the mind vis-a vis women Perhaps Gotama felt this way because he did not possibly forget his own experience as a young prince when he was imbued in 'plethora of female energy'[17]

Decrying women's faults has been the most common male defence mechanism, especially of asceticism all over the world in all ages They paint women dark not because women are really "the living torch illuminating the way to Hell" (*narakamārgadvārasya dīpikā Yogasāstra* II-87), but "because men themselves are unable to control their passions"[18] Gotama seems to confirm the known ascetic attitude, supported partly by his own experience

"Was it possible for a mind like Buddha" wonders Oldenberg "who in the severe determination of renunciation had torn himself away from all that is attractive and lovely in this world was he given the faculty to understand and to value women's nature?"[19] It is inconceivable that such a mind that delved deep into the mysteries of life and successfully sought its meaning, could not comprehend women's nature He knew it only too well both its strength and weakness If women seemed stupid to him, he also discerned in them the seeds of sainthood How well he confirms his understanding, when he consoles aggrieved King Pasendi who mourns the birth of a daughter, "A woman child, O Lord of men, may prove even better off spring than male"[20] The compassionate was also a keen observer of the totality of human nature Combined with his asceticism, it generated in him a seemingly incongruous attitude toward women most emphatically evidenced in his hesitation to admit wo-

15 Alex and Hideko Wayman trans *The Lion s Roar of Queen Srimala* (New York Columbia Uni Press 1974) p 1
16 Ibid., p 2
17 Alex Wayman "Parents of Buddhist Monks *Bharati* Vol X & XI 1966-68, 25 35
18 Altekar pp 324-325
19 Oldenberg pp 164-165
20 Wayman "Parents", *Bharati* pp. 25 35

Many of the foregoing episodes are considered legendary E J Thomas believes, there were probably women in the Order even before Mahāpajāpati He emphasizes that "There is nothing like a history of the nuns...what we know of them directly comes from isolated legends and from the set of regulations in the Vinaya "[10] How far can we then take these episodes as a basis to understand the Buddha's attitude toward women? Even if the detailed episodes are legendary, the eight weighty rules are recorded history It is these rules that reveal the mind of their preceptor

Following the permission granted to women, the Buddha pronounced his well-known prophecy

> "If Ananda women had not retired from the household life religion would long endure, a thousand years would the Good Doctrine abide But since Ānanda, women have now retired from household life to the houseless one not long will religion endure, but five hundred years Ānanda, will the Good Doctrine abide "[11]

This prophecy came to be partly true Buddhism did die soon, but only in India, where it was born, it flourishes elsewhere in the world even today Though Gotama accepted and greatly admired women's support as lay devotees, he was sceptical about the success of the religion if women joined the Order He compared women's entry with "disease called rust" falling on "flourishing field of sugar cane "[12] At a later date Buddhist, (so also Jain) nunneries are alleged to have been involved in undesirable activities, not conducive to the Order, much to the chagrin of one and all [13]

In the Buddhist history Viśakhā enjoys prime position as a female lay devotee Her famous eight-point request to Gotama for a permission to help the Order, readily granted, confirms Gotama's admiration for female patronage She contributed a total of two hundred seventy million for building monasteries, providing food, robes, medicine etc for both Orders There were many more such women

Oldenberg, describing the zealous involvement of Indian women in the activities of the religion, maintains, "The stupendous munificence which met the Buddhist Order at every step, proceeded in great measure, perhaps in the greatest measure from women "[14] Professor Alex Wayman refers to queen Śrimālā's emphasis on 'good daughters of the family' along with 'good sons of the family' and

10 Ibid, p 109
11 *Culla-Vagga* (x 1/6) Warren, p 447
12 Warren, p 447
13 A S Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* (Delhi Motilal Banarasidass 1962), p 210
14 Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha His Life His Doctrine His Order* trans, W Hoe (London Luzac & Co., 1928), p 162

points "to a period when the prosperity of the Buddhist congragation depended heavily on the patronage of one or more Buddhist queens and contribution by ladies of high social rank"[15] He further quotes Rowland, "There are indications that the Buddhist establishments were supported by queens of the ruling house while the kings were followers of Hinduism"[16]

* * *

How would one explain the Buddha's mind? On one hand he knew the capacity of women and on the other, he seemed apprehensive of men who would fall victims to the snares of women, or more precisely, to men's own weakness of the mind vis-a-vis women Perhaps Gotama felt this way because he did not possibly forget his own experience as a young prince when he was imbued in 'plethora of female energy.'[17]

Decrying women's faults has been the most common male defence mechanism, especially of asceticism all over the world in all ages They paint women dark not because women are really "the living torch illuminating the way to Hell" (*narakamārgadvārasya dīpikā Yogaśāstra* II-87), but "because men themselves are unable to control their passions"[18] Gotama seems to confirm the known ascetic attitude, supported partly by his own experience

"Was it possible for a mind like Buddha," wonders Oldenberg "who in the severe determination of renunciation had torn himself away from all that is attractive and lovely in this world, was he given the faculty to understand and to value women's nature?"[19] It is inconceivable that such a mind that delved deep into the mysteries of life and successfully sought its meaning, could not comprehend women's nature He knew it only too well, both its strength and weakness If women seemed stupid to him, he also discerned in them the seeds of sainthood How well he confirms his understanding, when he consoles aggrieved King Pasendi who mourns the birth of a daughter, "A woman child, O Lord of men, may prove even better off-spring than male"[20] The compassionate was also a keen observer of the totality of human nature Combined with his asceticism, it generated in him a seemingly incongruous attitude toward women, most emphatically evidenced in his hesitation to admit wo-

15 Alex and Hideko Wayman trans *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrimala* (New York Columbia Uni Press 1974) p 1.
16 Ibid p 2.
17 Alex Wayman "Parents of Buddhist Monks' *Bharati* Vol. X & XI 1966 68, 25-35
18 Altekar, pp. 324-325
19 Oldenberg pp 164-165
20 Wayman "Parents", *Bharati* pp. 25-35

men into the Order, his prophecy regarding the shorter life of religion, and the imposition of eight weighty rules on the bhikkhunis

Can Gotama, then be called a liberator of women as Kirtisinghe maintains in "The Buddha and the Basic Human Rights" He holds that the Buddha raised women's social status[21] In Women in Primitive Buddhism, Ms Horner portrays Gotama as an emancipator of women Gotama was surely not a social reformer, certainly not a women's liberator He emerged, on the contrary, as a product of his own times confirming superiority of men over women It is understandable that Gotama of 600 B C could not adopt a radical attitude toward women and was a part of then prevailing chauvinistic pattern of society And very naturally so Even in 20th Century A D Western culture, which has no burden of centuries of ancient civilization to carry, and is therefore free and relatively flexible in its pattern and values, one does not find complete equality between men and women

To interpret Gotama as a conscientious levelizer of social system or an emancipator of women, merely because women and *śūdras* found recognition in Buddhism, is an atrocious anachronism In later times, for us, the ignoble position of *śūdras* and women has become target of social criticism, but for Gotama their social position was not a pertinent issue "No one should" Foucher says, "be more surprised than he (Gotama), should he know of the travesty of his personality and his role" He further exclaims, "Why try to reform a world that is defined as an unpleasant dream"[22] It is rightly observed by Mrs Rhys Davids that Gotama's total involvement was with "realizing the Man (*purusa, atta, satta*),"[23] a spiritual realization, and not with social reformation Enthused by our fervour for the Buddha, we tend to forget the distinction between a religious thinker and a social reformer

Nor was he a pioneer, even a reluctant one, in opening the Order of nuns Jain nuns, who were greatly esteemed, had a precedence over Buddhist Order of bhikkhunis He did not even emulate the Jain nuns, on the contrary, they probably provided an additional cause of hesitation for him "They (Jain nuns) must have aroused his curiosity and criticism and influenced his decision"[24]

Ms Horner having maintained that "what Gotama did for women shines as a bright light in the history of freedom," tries to de-

21 *Prāci-Jyoti* Vol 8 1972 p 190
22 A Foucher *The Life of the Buddha*, ab & trans., Simone Boas (Conn Wesleyan Uni Press 1963) p 194
23 Caroline Rhys Davids "Preface" to *Women* Horner p. xv
24 Ibid p 108.

fend Gotama against accusations of discrimination.[25] Being entrapped by her self-created image of Gotama, she offers a spiritual defence which seems weak in its rationale She inadvertantly defeats the advocacy of her champion of women's cause, when she says, "It is possible that he held back, if he did, on account of his already biased, though not culpably prejudiced view of women He was born a Hindu, and ancestry, tradition and education can not be shaken off simply by the desire to be quit of them "[26] She is absolutely right Gotama *WAS* the product of the social milieu of his times

* * *

Sufficient evidence has been produced to prove that women's uplift did not emanate from the conscious efforts of Gotama Despite Gotama, the conservative, women's own efforts brought about a change They heard Gotama's message of Nirvāṇa, of freedom from *dukkha* and *samsāra* Spurred by the self motivation, the alert, the ripe, the ready joined the *Dhamma* Buddhism, and not so much its preceptor, offered an opportunity to women to liberate themselves Ms Horner, who oscillates between two different theories, here rightly emphasizes the movement as of women's own making "This movement, if a development so nearly unorganized, unvoiced and unled, may be called a movement, *was fostered and accelerated by the innate intelligence of the women themselves*, until it was acknowledged that they were what they were silently claiming to be — responsible, rational creatures with intelligence and will."[27]

A short survey of change in women s position in Indian society from Vedic times to Buddhist period might explain women's deep involvement in the search for freedom

During the Vedic times about 2000 B C , women had enjoyed complete equality with men They could perform sacrifices independently, could chant Vedic hymns, and become *riśikās* and *brahmavādinīs*[28] Some of them wrote hymns which were included in the *Rigveda*[29] *Yajurveda* mentions *Brahmacarya* training both for boys and girls[30] R W Frazer pushes a theory that the Āryans lost many women on their journey into India, which gave women a privileged position, they being essential for the survival of the

25 See note 7
26 Ibid. p. 109
27 Ibid p. 2 emphasis mine
28 Radha Kumud Mookerji 'Women in Ancient India ' in *Women of India* ed., Tara Ali Baig (Delhi Govt of India 1958) p. 2.
29 Ibid p 161
30 Radha Kumud Mookerji *Ancient Indian Education* (London Macmillan 1947), p 57

society[31] Preceeding data explain a unique equality enjoyed by Vedic women unparalleled in any society past or present The equality, however, seems to be on the decline during the Upanishadic period around 1000 B C Altekar considers the amalgamation of the Aryan and the non-Aryan groups through marriage as one of the prime causes of the decline in women's status[32] A reference to *Maitreyī's* (one of — Yājñavalkya's two wives) participation in philosophical discourse at this time is considered an exception rather than a rule[33] Mookerji mentions dancing and music as special studies prescribed for women This indicates a lesser emphasis on intellectual and philosophical studies for women[34]

By about 500 B C the subjugation and inferiority of woman in the society was an established fact *Manusmṛti* emphasizes total dependence of women on the male members of the family "In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons, a woman must never be independent'[35] Ved Mitra quotes Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana

अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्री पुरुष प्रधाना (वसिष्ठ ध सू ५/१)
न स्त्री-स्वातन्त्र्य विद्यते (बौधायन ध सू २/३/५०)[36]

Despite the total dependence of women, initially carved out for her protection which eventually degraded her into subordination, the non-Aryan practice of mother worship, by this time, was equally woven in the texture of the society Kosambi's theory of the admixture of patriarchal Āryan and matriarchal (or matrilineal) non Aryan elements paraphrases this characteristic paradox Lo and behold, the same Manu declares

यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता ।
यत्रैतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्राफला क्रिया ॥ मनु ३/५६

"Where women are honoured there the gods are pleased, but where they are not honoured no sacred rite yields rewards'[37] And Vasiṣṭha believes

पितुर्दशशतं माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते(वसिष्ठ ध सू. १३/१७)

"Mother is thousand times more respectable than father'[38]

31 R W Frazer *Indian Thought Past and Present* (London Fisher Unwin 1915) pp 278-279
32 Altekar p 344.
33 Frazer p 286
34 *Mookerji Education* p. 105
35 George Buhler trans *The Laws of Manu* (1886 repub New York Dover Pub 1969) p 195
36 Ved Mitra *India of Dharma Sutra* (New Delhi Arya Book Depot 1965) part III p 9
37 Buhler p 85
38 Ved Mitra p 17 fn.

In spite of the theoretical importance given to women, in reality they were oppressed by the male chauvinistic society Gotama's message enthused their spirit that was naturally inclined to religion, devotion and love Their subjugation motivated them to think of freedom both from social and spiritual bondage, and often in that order They did not have to go too far to find the answer They heard the Buddha preach, or heard the reports of his teachings Monks on their daily rounds with alms bowl were welcomed by housewives They saw Jain nuns and realized that it was not impossible for women to break the shackles They saw *upadhyāyās*, lady teachers — who were very few — who could handle learning And most of all, the simplicity of the Buddha's teachings appealed to them as they did to the general masses of men Brahminical teachings had become too complicated, and women in general were involved only in ritualistic aspect of an intriguing system of philosophy So, Buddhism held a promise for women to regain their long lost freedom They saw it, recognized it, imbibed it Hordes of women turned up to the call of monks who chanted melodiously

बुध्द शरण गच्छामि।
धम्म शरण गच्छामि।
सघ शरणं गच्छामि।

And they came from all walks of life Mrs Rhys Davids lists almost all varieties of women "The bereaved mother, the childless widow, are emancipated from grief and contumely, the Magdalen from remorse, the wife of a *rājāh* or rich man from the ennui of an idle life of luxury, the poor man's wife from care and drudgery, the young girl from the humiliation of being handed over to the suitor who bids highest, the thoughtful woman from the ban imposed upon her intellectual development by conventional tradition "[39]

In the Order prostitutes like Ambapāli and Adhakāṣi rubbed shoulders with an intellectual like Dhammadinā, or queenly Khemā, who was almost tricked into encountering the Buddha,[40] sat along with Kisa Gotami who joined the Order out of utter remorse at los ing her child, and hence her position in society Upalāvannā was chased out of *samsara* by competing suitors for her hand, whereas Isidasī was frustrated by three unsuccessful marriages Some women like Dhammā found it impossible to gain their husband s consent to join the Order (obtaining husband s consent was mendatory according to the Order), whereas others like Sundarīnandā were almost pushed into it Sumangalā was sick of household drud-

39 Frazer p 287 quotes from *Buddhist Review* July 1909
40 Nalinaksha Dutt "Great Women in Buddhism" in *Great Women of India* ed. Madhavananda and Majumdar (Almora Advaita Ashrama 1953) pp. 257-259

gery, and Candā joined because she got food to eat Very often, some were motivated by their family members who were already in the Order Some joined it together as did Visākhā and Dhammadinā Intellectually Dhammadinā proved to be superior to Visākhā

Thus each one had different motivation, varied capacity and personality The Order was thronged by multifarious problems and issues regarding rules of discipline that called for immediate solution and attention, often from Gotama himself This was a natural outcome of medley of human characteristics Women displayed both their strength and frailties The petty actions of nuns generated from curiosity, jealousy and possessiveness, even pride of power and egotism, created an interesting human drama in the Order "Not all who entered the Order were of the stuff saints are made of "[41]

As the later Buddhist history indicates, the outburst of fervour was short lived, many felt lost as the corruption set in Buddhist nunneries became the cause for greater restrictions on women in general in Indian society Taking clue from the limitations of these nunneries, later Hinduism prohibited women from joining the ascetic life The prohibition prevails even today[42]

Thus the Order that began as a stepping stone of liberation of women, itself became the cause of loss of freedom

However, it is interesting to note that during the Buddha's life, the movement brought forth brilliant teachers and preachers such as, Buddhā, Dhammadina, Vasithī and Patācārā commanding respect and honour from lay people comparable with, and at times surpassing that offered to the monks Khemā and Upalāvannā were emulated for their spiritual achievements Many of the nuns became *arhans* and achieved Nirvāna

* * *

What was Gotama's attiude towards almswomen since their admission to the Order?

Several changes were made in the disciplinary rules for the nuns, which were either results of the complains from the laity or from the Order itself When lay people felt that almswomen's actions likened them to those of housewives, they complained and as a result, rules were made to restrict their actions[43] The Laity had an edge over almsmen too Gotama was always anxious not to dis-

41 Horner, p 243
42 *Altekar* p. 210
43 Horner, pp 129 130 138 142 et al.

please the laity, as he could ill afford their antagonism and or the loss of their material support

It must be noted here that all queries, requests and complains from the almswomen were transmitted to Gotama only through the monks He seemed to be in minimal contact with almswomen, with the only exception of Mahāpajāpati The almswomen's subordination to the almsmen was an obvious carry over of the social convention Not only that, within each Order, the protocol of teacher — student, superior — subordinate was also strictly observed, — another tradition, no one ever questioned

All this indicates lack of leadership in certain mundane matters where Gotama preferred to be a follower of public opinion and convention, rather than a moulder of it

A living testimony of personal aspirations, attempts and achievements of almswomen is *Therīgāthā* (Songs of the Elders), perhaps the first anthology of women's verses in the world It is an inspiring collection of verses that sing of peace and spiritual freedom It records nuns' own efforts to fight against temptations and weaknesses The resulting success is an emblem of freedom "having torn asunder the mass of darkness" There are single verse effusions of attempts to attain the highest by the help of the wise one's teachings

> Sangha[44]
>
> Giving up my house, having gone forth, giving up son, cattle, what was dear, giving up desire and hatred and having discarded ignorance, plucking out craving root and all, I have become stilled, quenched"

More elaborate descriptions of incidents leading to the moment of revelation, defeating death and *Marā* are also found in this collection. Striking example is that of Upalāvannā's twelve verses[45] But most outstanding is the tantalizing question of Somā establishing equality of men and women

> What (harm) could woman's state do to us when the mind is well-concentrated, when knowledge exists for some one rightly having insight into the doctrine? [46]

But this is only a solitary outcry Most of *Therīgathā* does not mention equality Having been recorded, centuries later by male members of the Order, obviously, we do not have many evidences of how strongly women felt about their undue subordination to

44 K. R. Norman trans *The Elders Verses II Tehrīgātha* (London Luzac & Co 1971) p 3.
45 Ibid., verses 224-235 p. 25.
46 Ibid. p. 9

almsmen in their routine life in the Order Ms Horner refers to instances where women tried to get Patimokhā and Uposathā rules changed, which required them *to report to the almsmen* However, Altekar interprets the absence of complains and criticism against men in *Therīgāthā* differently "Women have in this respect undoubtedly shown a greater fairness, chivalry and balanced judgement than men"[47] May be he is right

We have only 522 extant verses Much that was felt, desired, struggled against and achieved *has not probably come down to us.* What we have is indicative of women's self help, determination and achievements despite hurdles on the way The Buddha's personal image and the impact of his teachings worked wonders Obviously, the women also being the products of their times did not wonder at Gotama's orthodoxy, instead *they saw in his beatific smile, a promise of peace*

The goals were high, the path lay uphill, and therein remained *the test of the seeker of Nirvāna If she crossed over, she won* If not, she had to try in this life and lives to come, till she attained it No matter how high be the stage of her achievement, a woman had to be born as man before she achieved Buddhahood

What was the attitude of the doctrine toward women? Were nuns equal to monks? Could women attain the highest enlightenment? Could women be *bodhisattvas*? There is only one-word answer to all these queries "No' According to both *Anguttāra Nikāya* and *Majjhima-Nikāya*,[48] it was impossible for women to achieve Buddhahood Alex Wayman says "Vasubandhu's *Abhi dharmakoṣa observes that both men and women can engage* in the four degrees, but that when a woman masters the supreme mundane natures she loses her female sex attribute and is converted into a 'male' "[49] E J Thomas recounts five essentials for the realization of Buddhahood two of which are that the candidate must be (i) a human being and (ii) a male[50] Dayal emphasizes the need for 're birth as a man, and maintains that a *bodhisattva* can be a woman *in the first Āsankhyeya* but not in the second or the third[51] Thomas also quotes an example from the *Lotus* of a naga girl of eight years who presented a jewel to the Buddha *Her sex changed and she* became the *Bodhisattva*[52] This doctrine of male *bodhisattva* did not exempt goddesses either In *Avalokitesvara,* it is prophesied that

47 Altekar p 325
48 *Anguttara Nikaya* i *Majjhima* iii 65 66
49 Wayman *Queen Śrimala* p 35
50 E J *Thomas History of Buddhist Thought* (London Kegan Paul, 1933) p. 64
51 Dayal *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London Kegan Paul, 1932) p 224
52 E. J Thomas *Buddhist Thought* p 183

Umā (Śiva's consort) will change her sex and be a Buddha Umeśvara[53]

* * *

There may be several reasons for the Buddha's initial aversion to admitting women to the Order Since celibacy, austerity and strict mental discipline were keynotes of Buddhist monastic life, he probably felt that varied cultural levels of women might not meet with the expected standards of the Order Secondly, the nearness of opposite sex might demand a greater strength from both the Orders to maintain celibacy. May be it was an acid test for both. Was it worth it, he wondered His doubts were not altogether baseless Asceticism in all societies have warned men against women's snares, committing the common fallacy of penalizing women for the weaknesses of men

Further, Gotama probably wondered as to how the male dominated society would react to the freedom allowed to women? The society that had for centuries considered women's total dependence as an irretrievable fact of existence would probably be shaken up There always was the "ever present question of what they were to do if the laity were to desert them"[54] Also Gotama had to encounter the conventional Brahminical religion and the new Jainism The survival of Buddhism depended upon the faith and loyalty of the lay people Indeed, the Buddha was caught up in a human situation

But *women* came to Buddha's rescue They discerned in the Buddha's teachings an opportunity for their deliverance Buddhism had held that (a) *karma* and rebirth affected all mankind — men and women alike — and hence women did not have to depend on men for their salvation, (b) an unmarried woman or a widow had the same chance as anybody else (c) Again, Buddhism gave equal opportunity to women of all ranks and castes — rich and poor, Brahmin and Sudra — to elevate themselves (d) Not only that, the fact that the Buddha delivered common sermons for both men and women implied that women had the same comprehension as men

Thus the women interpreted the implications of the Buddha's teachings as a means of their emancipation, though of course, the Buddha had never visualized the outcome of his precepts in this light In fact, he confirmed the social convention of women's subordination by inflicting extra disciplinary rules when they came to him seeking an opportunity for deliverance They unquestioningly accepted the rules for they were seeking emancipation and not

53 Ibid., p 183.
54 Horner p 334.

equality Sex-war was unthought of; women were seeking evolutionary change, not revolutionary one

Nirvāna was their goal, determination their strength, Buddhism showed them the Way

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works cited

Altekar, A S, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* Delhi Motilal Banarsidass 1962

Buhler, George, trans, *The Laws of Manu* 1886 repub, New York Dover Pub, 1969

Chaudhary, Rama Prasad, "Position of Women as in Early Buddhist Monasticism," in *Buddhist India*, 1, No 2 (1927) 187-194

Coomarswamy, Ananda, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New York Putnam's 1916

Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* London Kegan Paul, 1932.

Dutt, Nalinaksha, 'Great Women in Buddhism," in *Great Women of India*, ed, Madhavananda and Majumdar Almora Advaita Ashrama 1953

Embree, Ainslie, T, ed *The Hindu Tradition.* 1966 rpt., New York Vintage, 1972.

Foucher, A., *The Life of the Buddha*, ab & trans, Simone Boas Conn Wesleyan Uni. Press, 1963

Frazer, R. W, *Indian Thought Past and Present* London T Fisher Unwin, 1915

Horner, I. B, *Women under Primitive Buddhism.* New York Dutton, 1930

Humphreys, Christmas, *Buddhism.* London Cassell & Co, 1951

Kirtisinghe, Buddhaghosa P, "The Buddha and the Basic Human Rights" in *AP* 40, No 1 (1969) 16-20 Listed in *Prāci Jyoti*, vol. 8, 1972.

Meyer, Johann J, *Sexual Life in Ancient India* New York Barnes & Noble, 1953

Mitra, Ved., *India of Dharma Sutra* New Delhi Arya Book Depot., 1965

Mookerji, R. K., *Ancient Indian Education* London Macmillan, 1947

Mookerji, R. K., 'Women in Ancient India" in *Women of India*, ed, Tara Ali Baig, Delhi Govt. of India Publication, 1958.

Norman, K. R., trans., *The Elders' Verses II Therīgāthā.* London Luzac & C., 1971

Oldenberg H., *Buddha His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*, trans. W Toey London Luzac & Co., 1928

Rhys Davids C., 'Preface" in *Women under Primitive Buddhism*, Horner New York Dutton, 1930

Thomas, E. J, *History of Buddhist Thought* London Kegan Paul, 1933.

Thomas E. J, *The Life of Buddha.* London Kegan Paul, 1927

Warren, Henry Clarke, *Buddhism in Translation* 1896, rpt. New York Atheneum, 1972.

Wayman, Alex and Hideko trans., *The Lion's Roar of Queens Śrimālā* New York Columbia Uni. Press, 1974

Wayman, Alex, "Parents of Buddhist Monks," *Bhārati*, x & xi (1966-68), 25-35.

SACRIFICE IN THE ĀRAṆYAKAS

By

INDU C DESHPANDE

Though the term Veda signifies various literary compilations, such as, the Samhitās, the Brāhmanas, the Āranyakas, the Upaniṣads and according to some scholars even the Sūtras, these compilations differ from one another both in form and contents The Samhitās, namely, the Ṛv (= Ṛgveda), and the Av (= Atharvaveda) are the collection of the Mantras The Rv reflects the religion of the classes in the community of the Vedic Āryans, while the Av reflects the religion of the masses This religion of the Vedic Āryans was simple and uncomplicated The hymns of the Ṛv are mainly of the nature of prayers addressed to various divinities Their contents are largely mythological As said earlier, the Av is the Veda of the masses, it comprehends the common life of the common man The two later Samhitas, viz, the Sv (Sāmaveda) and the Yv (Yajurveda) are secondary productions The Sv is a musical redaction of some of the Mantras from the Rv These chants are intended to be used in a soma sacrifice The Yv, which refers to various Ṛv Mantras, deals more or less directly with sacrifice

A substantial change in the political, social , and economic life of the nomadic Vedic Aryans as they settled down in the region of Saptasindhu, influenced their religion also Their ritual which was simple and straightforward in the earlier period, now became complex and complicated Elaborate and rigid rules came to be prescribed in connection with the various details of the ritual, such as, the officiating priests, the sacrificial materials and implements, the divinities, the oblations, the mantras, the dakṣinā, and the expiation rites for the errors in the sacrificial procedure Consequently there grew up a separate class of priests who were experts and could therefore help the people in sacrificial performances Similarly, out of the need for the literary works which would discuss and describe this newly developed complex system of ritual, originated the various Brāhmana (Br) texts

The Br are a different type of literary work They normally presuppose the Vedic Mantras and give their explanations They reflect the spirit of an age in which all intellectual activity was centred round the sacrifice

A further development of the Br is represented by the Āraṇyakas (= Ār) The Ār are the concluding portions of the Br They constitute a natural transition to the Upanisads (= Up), the oldest of which latter are partly included in and partly appended to them Broadly speaking, the Ār constitute a connecting link between the Br and the Up Though the Ār also explain, glorify, justify, and recommend the particular rites like the Br, their object seems to give the theosophical or sometimes philosophical speculations on the nature and meaning of the sacrifice [1]

The Aitareya-Ār (AĀ), and the Śankhāyana-Ār (Śān-Ā) give the description of the Mahāvrata, a sacrificial rite observed on the last day but one in the Gavāmayana-Sattra Mahāvrata, being one of the forms of the Agniṣṭoma, is divided into three pressings, i e, the morning, the midday, and the evening pressing of the Soma Each pressing has an equal number of Stotras and Śastras The morning pressing has the Bahiṣpavamāna and four Ājya Stotras, and the Ājya and Prauga Śastras of the Hotṛ and three Ājya Śastras of the Hotrakas The midday pressing has the Mādhyandinapavamana and four Pṛṣṭha Stotras, and the Marutvatiya and Niṣkevalya Śastras of the Hotr and three Niṣkevalya Śastras of the Hotrakas The evening pressing has the Ārbhavapavamāna Stotra and the Agniṣṭoma, Sāman, together with the Vaiśvadeva and Āgnimāruta Śāstras of the Hoṭr The most characteristic of the features of the Mahāvrata Sāman and the Mahaduktha is their division according to the form of a bird The Mahāvrata Sāman has five parts corresponding to the body, head, right wing, left wing, and tail In the Mahaduktha the parts correspond to the body, neck, head vertebrae, wings, tail, and stomach But there is a general correspondence with the Sāman, the first verses of each part appearing in the Sāman Besides these parts there are also three groups each of eighty ṭṛcas, one in Gāyatri, one in Uṣṇih and one in Bṛhatī metre, which form the food of the bird [2] According to the Ār the importance of sacrifice is purely in the ritual as regards the use of the hymns These collections of verse make up a very considerable body of hymns This new Samhitā was regarded as extremely sacred Thus a rite originally popular became, through theological speculation, one of the most secret doctrines of the Brāhmanas [3] We are examining here some specimens of such theological character

There exist different views regarding the metre of the Prauga-śastra of the morning pressing The AĀ[4] recommends the Gāyatri

1 This paper is based on the observations in the Aitareya—Ār, Śankhāyana—Ār Taittirīya—Ār
2 Keith AĀ, Intd pp 28 and ff
3 Keith AĀ Intd pp 28 & ff
4 cf. AĀ I 1 3 tad u gāyatram eva kuryād brahma vai gāyatrī brahmai'tad ahar brahmaṇai va tad brahma pratipadyate

metre for the same because, Gāyatrī is Brahman, Mahāvrata day[5] is Brahman, so Brahman is accomplished through Brahman For the Marutvatiya-śastra of the midday pressing the hymn to be employed should be of Vasukra because, Vasukra is Brahman and this day also is Brahman.[6] The recitation of the Śastra should commence with the utterance of *him* because, *him* is Brahman, this day is Brahman and so he should commence Brahman with Brahman[7]

Viśvāmitra reached Indra as a result of his devotion and recitation Indra who was pleased at his recital granted him a boon through which Visvāmitra desired to know Indra Indra said in reply, "I am *prāna*, you are *prāna*, he that radiates heat and light is *prana* In this form I am all-pervading[8] The eminent god Indra of the vedic mythology, identifies himself with the cosmic principle *prāna* Thus the Upaniṣadic tendency towards inwardisation is gradually becoming evident in the Ār In further descriptions the words *ātman*, *brahman* are substituted for the word Prāna in the Ār

The TĀ[9] (= Taittiriya Āranyaka) describes the five great sacrifices (Pañcamahāyajñas) Those are Devayajña Pitryajna, Bhūtayajña, Manuṣyayajña and Brahmayajña When one makes an offering in the fire even it be mere fuel-stick, then it is as if he per forms the Devayajña When one offers *svadhā* to the fathers, even it be mere water, that becomes the Pitryajña When a man offers a bali (= a *ball* of rice) to the beings it becomes the Bhūtayajña When he gives food to the Brāhmins, that of him is the Manusyayajña When one studies *svadhyāyā*, even it be a single Rc or Yajus or Saman, it becomes the Brahmayajña

Brahmayajña is stated as an obligatory rite[10] It is the name given to the act of repeating by heart one's own sacred text or even a single verse of it, whether a Rc Yajus or Saman One must not pay any heed to the obstructions, causing even by the natural phenomena, while performing the Brahmayajña Such is the case that cloud in this sacrifice should be considered as being the *havirdhāna* cart, the lightning — the fire, the rain — the oblation material, the thunder-producing cloud — the *vaṣaṭkāra*, the rumbling sound — the *anuvaṣaṭkara* the blowing wind — the sacrificer, and the newmoon night — the *sviṣṭakṛt* offering Who thus performs

5 cf Śan Ā I 2 brahmai tad ahar
6 AĀ I 2 2.
7 cf AĀ I 3 1 brahma vai himkaro brahmai tad ahar brahmaṇaiva tad brahma pratipadyate
8 cf AĀ II 2 3 prano va aham asmy ṛṣe pranas tvam praṇah sarvani bhutāni prano hy eṣa ya eṣa tapati sa etena rupena sarva diso viṣṭo smi
Śan Ā I 6 etad va aham asmi yad etad avocam yad va kṛṣeṭo bhūyo tapas tad eva tat syat yad aham
9 TĀ II 10
10 II 15 Svadhyāyo dhyetavyo

Brahmayajña, he performs penance, as *svādhyāya* (i e Brahma yajña), indeed, is penance[11] *Moreover this sacrifice is very easy to* perform. In this the sacrificial material is constituted of the deities themselves,[12] fasting is the consecration, the place of study is the Upasad, the seat is the Sutyā, the speech is the Juhu, the mind is the Upbhrt, *dhruti* is Dhruvā, breath is the Havis, Sāman is the Adhvaryu, and breath is the sacrificial gift *This sacrifice com* mences and concludes on the same day The purificatory bath (*avabhrtha*) in this sacrifice which begins in the morning, takes place in the evening Having touched the water, whatever is given is the sacrificial gift (*dakṣinā*)[13] There can be no easier procedure of the sacrifice than that of the one suggested by the TĀ.

In the Arunaketuka-agnicayana rite (TĀ I) the water is to be used instead of the bricks of clay Naturally prodigality of time, labour, wealth is barred and a more simple ritual is presented The mantras, formulas given for this rite are also of philosophical nature In it occurs the description of Kāla (= time) It is said in it that the existence of the orb of the sun is established by all through the memory (*smrtih*), perception (*pratyaksam*), *traditio*nal instruction (*aitihya*), and inference (*anumāna*) The Sun accepts certain ray (*marīci*) which is above this world The full development of it is known by us as various divisions of time (i e *kāla*), such as, moments, hours, days, fortnights, months, etc *These divisions constitute the year (samvatsara) A river* which has its unending origin, is swollen by small streams, never dries similarly, the year which has the sun as its eternal origin, never comes to an end The sun originates the seasons Six rays *of the* sun correspond to the six seasons Every season progresses and at the same time motivates the other This description follows the constitution of the seasons, their names, their distinctive natures etc The TĀ (I 7) also gives the names of the seven suns and notes *the conceptions of different teachers regarding them Some say* that the breath (*prānah*) with its seven actions should be regarded as seven suns, while the others hold the view that the objects causing to live, namely, *mahat, ahankāra*, etc, are the seven suns *Some* are of the opinion that the five senses along with *manas* and *buddhi* are the seven suns when others think that the seven breaths being in the head should be considered as seven suns[14] In the same chapter a querry about four kinds of death, namely, Param, Avama Madhyama, and Catuḥ, as well as, about the abodes of the pious and of the sinners has been made In an answer to this query, it

11 TĀ II 14 tapo hy svadhyayaḥ
12 ibid II 15 *samṛddhir daivatani*
13 ibid II 15 10—17
14 cf TĀ I 7 prano jīvanī 'ndriyajīvani sapta śirsanyah prānāḥ suryā ity ācāryāḥ

ıs said that Ādıtya, Pavamāna, Agnı, and Candramā are the Param, Avama, Madhyama and Catuh kınds of death respectıvely[15] The relıgıous people wıth all satıety reach the world of pıous men The remaınıng obtain the Madhyama (ı e the wind), Catuh (= the moon) and the Aavama (= the fire) kinds of death While discussıng the fate of the sınners, the TĀ (I 8 5) says that the suns aroused from Kasyapa[16] ever kıll the sinners in the mid region of *dyaus* and *pṛthıvı* They, devoured by theır deeds, entangle ın the cycle of lıfe and death, lıke the ınsects[17] Further the TĀ (I 11) emphasıses the necessıty of the knowledge of *sat* and makes ıt clear that one who does not possess thıs knowledge entangles ın the worldly affaırs To the contrary, one who knows thıs world to be the tree wıth the roots above (ı e *brahman*) and the branches below (ı e the objects from Brahmā to the stalk of grass on the earth), never belıeves death as hıs end[18]

The TĀ (III) gıves the Caturhotṛ-mantras The Mantras, Dasahotṛ, Caturhotṛ pañcahotr, Ṣaḍḍhotr, and Saptahotr are collec tıvely known as the Caturhotṛ Mantras The numbers *catuh*, *pañca*, *ṣaṭ*, *sapta*, and *dasa* ın the names of these Mantras ındıcate the numbers of Hotṛs assocıated wıth the respectıve Mantras The Hotṛ mantras are employed eıther for mere recıtatıon or to accompany the offerıng of oblatıons of clarified butter Each of these Mantras has a portion called *graha* Whenever an oblatıon ıs to be offered with any of these Hotṛ-mantras, the offerıng is to be made wıth the *graha* portıon endıng wıth *svāhā* after the Mantra proper has been recıted The recıtatıon of these Mantras and the offerıng of oblatıons wıth them have been frequently prescrıbed as a part of the performance of varıous sacrıfices The subjects of the Mantras are of hıghly phılosophical matter A part of ıt as a specımen has gıven below

In the Dasahotṛ Mantra[19] *cıttıh* and *cıtta* (mınd) ıs saıd nothıng but the laddle and the clarıfied butter, respectıvely Speech ıs the altar, the recıtatıon — the sacrıficıal grass (*barhıs*), the ıntentıon to know and the true knowledge — the fire, Vakpatı — the hotṛ, mınd — the Upavaktṛ, breath — the oblatıon materıal, and the samans — the Adhvaryu The Dasahotṛhṛdaya[20] whıch elucıdates

15 cf TĀ I 8 amum ahuḥ param mṛtyum pavamanam tu madhyamam agnir eva vamo mṛtyuḥ candramas catur ucyate
16 TĀ I 8 6 kaśyapad udıtah suryaḥ papan nırghnanti sarvadạ
17 TĀ I 8 6-7 mṛtva punar mṛtyum apadyante adyamānaḥ svakarmabhıh āsatıkaḥ krımayaḥ ıva.
18 TĀ I 11 urdhvamūlam avak chakham vṛkṣam yo veda sampratı na sa jatu janaḥ srad dadhyat mṛtyur ma marayad ıtı
19 TĀ III 1.
20 TĀ III 11

the significance of the Daśahotr, states — ātman, the self-shining principle makes the things to shine At the primeval stage of the universe it was moving in water with the desire to create Brahman first knew it in the form of Dasahotr Ātman enters the beings and governs them. It is one unique principle but acts as being many The hundred forms of lustre, all the Vedas, all the priests, and all the Hotr-mantras become one in it It is the supreme soul of all

It would be seen from the accounts, given so far, that in the Ār the Brāhmanic ideas are slowly taking an abstract non-ritualistic turn The Ār seem to be no longer interested in the rules for performance of the sacrifices and the explanation of the rites connected with them The AĀ repeatedly uses the sentence in connection with the Mahāvrata-*bahu vā etasmin ahani kim ca kim ca tāranam kriyate* [21] Presumably this refers to the strange rites like *the dance of the maids, union of a couple, conversation between a brahmacārin* and *pumścalī*, etc This, as KEITH[22] says, is a curious inversion of ideas by which the old popular rites retained no doubt reluctantly in the ritual, become regarded as improper and needing atonement The Ār mainly devote themselves to an exposition of the mysticism and symbolism of the sacrifice It may be because of this we do not find an intelligible account as it stands, of the Mahāvrata in neither the AĀ nor the Śāṅ-Ā In case of the AĀ a *sutra* like book (chap V) was added by Śaunaka, but in *it also the secret nature of the doctrine is reiterated* [23]

A special significance of the Ār to the vedic thought is *that* they have stressed the efficacy of the inner or mental *sacrifice* as *distinguished from the outer or formal sacrifice, consisting* of rice, barley, or milk etc The Śān-Ā (X) *narrates the performance* of the internal Agnihotra According to which deities are established in man himself, fire in speech, wind in breath, sun in the eye, moon *in the mind, the quarters in the ear, the waters in the seed* He makes the offering in all of these by eating, drinking and by making others to eat and drink Moreover the Śān Ā (X 8) states how *the tenfold Agnihotra is performed* by a man *within himself* by eating and drinking himself and making others to eat and drink His expiration is the Āhavanīya (fire), his inspiration — the Gārhapatya his Vyāna — the Anvāhārya-Pacana his mind — the smoke, his anger the flame, his faith — the coals, his speech — the Samit (brand), his truth the oblation, his intelligent self the *essence*

21 cf AĀ I 1 3 I 2 2 etc
22 AĀ 167 f n 9
23 AĀ v 3 3

That virāj-like (vairājam), tenfold Agnihotra is offered It sends him to the world of heaven Now if one who does not know this Agnihotra, sacrifices, it is, as if, he pushed aside the coals and made oblation in the ashes[24]

BOOKS REFERED

1 The Aitareya Āranyaka—ed KEITH A B , 1909
2 The Taittirīya Āranyaka—Anandashram edition.
3 The Śankhayāna Āranyaka—Anandashram edition.
4 The Śānkhayana Āranyaka—translation—KEITH A. B , 1908.
5 History and Culture of the Indian People Vol. I The Vedic Age, 1951.
6 History of Dharmasastra Vol II. Part II.—P V KANE, 1941
7 History of Indian Literature—M WINTERNITZ, Vol. I, 1927
8 History of Indian Philosophy, II—S K. BELVALKAR and R D RANADE, 1927
9 History of Sanskrit Literature—A A. MACDONELL, 1961.
10 Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism—R. N DANDEKAR
11 Vedavidya—R N DANDEKAR.
12 A Critical Study of the Āranyakas—Ph D thesis (typed)—INDU C. DESHPANDE.

24 cf Śān Ā X.8 ya idam avidvan agnihotram juhoti yatha angaran apohya bhasmani hutam tadṛk tat syat.

RELIGION V/S SCIENCE

By

J L SHARMA

Religion has been taken till now as something irrational emotional, an object of individual belief or superstition, and therefore unscientific Being rational has become an essential requisite of a modern man And he has to accept only as much as falls within the scope of his limited knowledge Rest of it, howsoever real it may be, even an object of our direct empirical experience, is unscientific and therefore to be condemned, as it does not answer our 'hows and whys' And it does not set within the frame work of our laws of nature yet known Thus it appears as if some thing called 'scientific' is much more important than any other thing which may be otherwise absolutely correct We have to just close our eyes at whatever is religious and in this respect we are guided not by logic but by our contemptuous instinct or pre-established whims Scholars like M N Roy feel proud in saying "Religiosity is not an Indian monopoly It is widespread in this country than in others, because in no other civilised country the masses are so very ignorant "[1]

These materialists fail to understand the role of religion in the evolution of culture and civilisation Religion has been running the whole gamut of human life There has been no watertight compartmentalisation between religion and science in the beginning No border-line can be traced between the two not only in India but perhaps in any ancient civilisation of the world There is no such branch of knowledge which did not fall in the peremetre of religion, rather every branch of knowledge and learning itself was a part of religion The reason is that 'early founders of science, not only in this country, but elsewhere also never claimed to be lebelled as scientists '[2] Thus condemning their achievements in any field simply for they were not called scientists, would be nothing but a logical fallacy, most unscientific in its temper and attitude 'The supposition that every thing that is truly scientific must eventually be reduced to physical and chemical terms This is methodologically false '[3] It would mean neglecting all whatever history has record-

1 M N Roy Science & Superstition p. 55.
2 Satya Prakash Founders of Science in Ancient India (Preface)
3 Sir Alistir Hardy The Biology of God (London, 1977) p. 18

ed Rightly does write the emminent anthropologist R R Merret,[4] "Rationalism can at most serve to temper a flame, which it does not light and easily extinguishes"

Thanks to some of the modern scientists, who, in their works, have shown a new spirit and a new approach by giving up anti religious and othodox scientific traditions Einstein is recorded by Ben Gurion[5] to have believed in something 'behind energy' despite his great formula ($E = MC^2$) Alistir Hardy, who has very recent ly established a research unit at Manchester College, Oxford, for the scientific study of religious experiences, believes something 'subtle' and not a sheer chance behind DNA mutation in its bio chemical phenomenon[6] The notion of randomness can not be accepted as final truth "Believers are no more likely to be shaken in their faith by the misgivings of the geniticists than they were confirmed in them by the patronizing approbation of the theoritical physicists, for faith rests upon quite other foundations — as secure to those who hold them as the derivation of a logical theorem"[7] 'God never plays dice with the world', says Einstien,[8] and he never left the answers to blind chance Nature is well regulated through its laws and this is what the Ṛṣis conceived in the Vedic concept of 'rta' 'The marvel of the symphonic texture of the natural process' compells one to find the 'evidence of a Great Com poser',[9] however invisible or imperceptible it may be "Where my child", says the Ṛṣi, illustrating through the subtlest invisible par ticle of a seed of Banyan tree, "you perceive nothing there dwells invisibly a mighty Nyagrodha (Banyan)"[10] DNA constituting the whole character of man is not a chance destined at random to any one but according to our eschatalogy one s samskāras already stored in ego-centric mind through birth and rebirth determine the place and nature of one's birth[11] This is how logically the heridity is explained by Lord Kṛṣna in *Gitā* "Yogis, who could not attain perfection in their previous birth, are again born in the families of Yogis and the wise wherefrom they further advance to meet their goal"[12]

---

4 Faith Hope & Charity in Primitive Religion p 15
5 Ranald W Clark Einstein The Life & Time (New York 1971) p 19
6 Sir Alistir Hardy The Biology of God p 33
7 P B & J S. Medawar The Life Science (London 1977) p 169
8 Ranald W Clark Einstein The Life and Time p 18
9 P B & J S Medawar The Life Science p 168.
10 Tam hovaca yam vai somyaitam-animanam na nibhalayasa etasya vai somyaiṣo nimnah mahān nyagrodha-stiṣṭhati — Chandogya Upaniṣad (Adyar) 6 XII 2.
11 J L. Sharma The Philosophy of Destiny Chintamani Nov 78 (Bombay) pp. 110 112
12 sucinām śrimatam gehe yoga bhraṣṭo'bhijāyate
athava yoginām-eva kule bhavati dhimatam — Gita 6 41-42

known."[18] The approaches may be different says Vivekananda, '. both microcosm and macrocosm' would eventually lead us to that perfect truth, which is in harmony with experiences of both these worlds[19]

The gradual development in the field of physical sciences, from basic elements to mass and energy, their identity through mutual transformation, and the Unified Field theory, all has shown that 'manifestation' and not 'creation' is the key-world of all this universe It would not be thus irrelevent here to quote Lincoln Barnett where he has shown this point of culmination in the theories of physical sciences "Through the centuries, the varied current of discovery, theory, research and reason have steadily converged, mingled and flowed onward into ever widening and deepening channels The first long advance was the reduction of the world's multifarious substances into 92 natural elements Then these elements were reduced to a few fundamental particles Concurrently the various "forces" in the world came to be recognised one by one as varying manifestations of electromagnetic force, and all the different kinds of radiation in the universe — light, heat X-rays, radio waves, gamma rays — as nothing more than electromagnetic waves of varying wave length and frequency Ultimately the features of the universe distilled down to a few basic quantities — space, time matter, energy and gravitation But in Special Relativity, Einstein demonstrated the equivalence of matter and energy and in General Relativity he showed the indivisibility of the space-time continuum The Unified Field Theory now culminates and climaxes this coalescing process For from its august perspective the entire universe is revealed as one elemental field in which each star, each atom, each wandering comet and slow wheeling galaxy and flying electron is seen to be but a ripple or tumescence in the underlying space time unity And so a profound simplicity supplants the surface complexity of nature The distinctions between gravitational force and electromagnetic force, matter and energy, electric charge and field, space and time, all fade in the light of their revealed relation ships and resolve into configuration of the four-dimensional continuum which is the universe Thus all man s perceptions of the world and all his abstract intutions of reality merge finally into one, and the deep underlying unity of the universe is laid bare "[20] Thus it becomes clear that all this diversity is nothing but the manifesta tion of One, which is the Absolute of monism That One is the only reality and that is the only Truth

18 Chandogya Upanișad (Adyar) 6 1 3
19 Vivekananda The Science & Philosophy of Religion p 8.
20 Lincoln Barnett The Universe & Dr Einstein (Mentor Edition) pp 120-22.

DEITIES IN MĪMĀṀSĀ - VERBAL OR PHYSICAL?

By

K N CHATTERJEE

Traditional View

Mīmāmsā is concerned with delienating *dharma* By *dharma* is meant sacrifice Sacrifice, again comprises of three things—a material object (*dravya*), a deity (*devatā*) and the act of parting with the said material thing (*tyāga*) in favour of the said deity [1] The act of parting means the pouring of the said material thing upon the sacrificial fire in accompaniment of *mantras* The *mantras* are the medium of recollection of either the said thing, parted with, or the said deity The sacrifice is held to lead to *apūrva* by virtue of which the sacrificer attains the results of sacrifice-heaven or the like

A question arises as to what occasions the chanting of the *mantras* — heaven or the like other fruit and the deity or the *apūrva* In view of heaven or the like other fruit and the deity being indicated by the *mantras*, the chanting thereof is apparently considered to have been occasioned by the fruit and the deity [2]

Yet *apūrva* brings about the fruit and as such is liable to accomplishment to call for the manner-of performance (*itikartavyatā*) in the context of which, the chanting of the *mantras* is occasioned, the fruit or the deity being only accessories thereto [3]

It may be contended that sacrifice means the partaking by the deity in reference, of what is parted with by the sacrificer and as such it is the deity in reference, that should assume prominence to occasion the act of sacrifice involving the chanting of *mantras* The deity, thus, is akin to a guest in the context of the act of hospitality accorded to him [4]

Moreover, a deity has mastery over everything Without his favour, fruits are unlikely to be attained by men [5] Indra, a deity lords over heaven, the earth, the waters, the mountains, all that grows and all that are with life, what is to be attained, what is

1 dravyam devata tyagah. Ka Śr Su I 2 1 2
2 Phala devatayos ca. Jai Su IX 1 4
3 Na Codanato hi tadgunyam Jai Su. IX 1 5
4 devata va prayojayedatithivad bhojanasya tadarthatvat ibid IX 1.6
5 arthapatyacca ibid IX 1 7

attained and what is poured out in oblation[6] Hence heaven or what is hankered after cannot be attained unless Indra, the lord of heaven is propitiated The primary object of the performance of sacrifice, therefore, is to propitiate a deity A deity, therefore, should be physical, otherwise propitiation thereof becomes redundant

Indeed that a deity is physical is explicit in a number of vedic mantras[7] There are *mantras* and brāhmana-texts as well indicating physical deities, partaking of things offered in oblation, superintending over the universe, having lustful desire and having the sense of elevation at being propitiated[8]

The answer is that sacrifice is the instrument of heaven or a like other fruit, achieved by way of retribution *Yajeta,* the direct statement of the kind of a single word (*ekapada-rūpa śruti*) in *yajeta svargakāmah,* for an example, while presenting the principal and the accessory by the different constituents, thereof, lays it bare that the sacrifice is the means to heaven, the desired end But as the sacrifice does not live upto the moment, immediately preceding the attainment of the said desired end, *apūrva* is conceived of as the activity (*vyāpāra*) of the sacrifice to persist till the attainment of the desired end (viz the heaven) Thus it is *apurva* that should occasion the performance of a sacrifice involving the chanting of mantras with the deity relegated to a secondary position[9]

The argument that sacrifice cannot be the means to heaven or a like other fruit in view of its being intervened by *apūrva* does not lend support to the view that a deity is the bestower of heaven or the like For a deity is intervened by sacrifice in addition to *apurva* In fact, *apūrva* being a *vyāpāra* or a potency (*sakti*) of sacrifice, the causality in sacrifice in respect of heaven or the like, so well borne out by a direct statement of the kind of a single word (*ekapadarūpā śruti*) cannot be challenged For *vyāpara* can never replace the substratum of itself A deity, on the otherhand, cannot be conceived of as bestowing heaven or the like, superseding a sacrifice For a deity is not thus known through a direct statement or otherwise Moreover, a deity, even if conceived of as bestowing a fruit in retribution, has to look upon sacrifice on the part of its performer It is simpler, therefore, to assume the causality of the

---

6 Indro diva indra īse prthivyam indro apamindro it parvatanam/Indro vṛdha- ...e havye indrah/ / Rv X 10

7 ... X 47 1 ... made Indro vṛtrani jighnate RV ...

8 Addhindra prasthite ma havimsi Rv X 116 8
Indra diva indra īse and so on (quoted above)
Tṛptah evainamindrah prajaya paśubhistarpayati Vide sastradipika on jai. Sū IX 1 6.

9 Api va śabda-pūrvatvad yajna-karma pradhanam syad gunatve devata-śrutih Jai. Su IX 1 9

fruit in sacrifice itself instead of lending the responsibility of bearing fruits to a deity Further, the statements like *vanaspatibhyah svāhā*, and *mūlebhyah svāhā* do not mention any deity For *vanaspati* or *mūla* are only insentient Hence having a physique, partaking of oblations, superintending over all things in the universe, being propitiated and bestowing a fruit — the characteristics of a deity[10] are absent in such instances The theory of *vigraha pañcakatva* thus gives way The *mantras* and the like, claimed to bear *upon such a theory are only metaphorical (arthavāda)* The analogy of guests also is not of any avail For guests are the pivot of hospitality while a deity is only a cog to sacrifice An injunction like *yajeta svargakāmah* gives prominence *to sacrifice and a deity* is only a part of the process

A new perspective

Śabarasvāmin, the commentator on the *sūtras* of jaimini, while commenting on the aphorism of jaimini-*karturvā Śruti-samyogad vidhih kārtsnyena gamyate* (VI 1 5) *observes that gods have no* right to the performance of sacrifice and the reason that he adduces is that they have no deity[11] Such negation is called for only in case *there was a possibility of gods performing a sacrifice and such a* possibility again could be imagined only if gods were physical beings Similarly, if a deity were only verbal, there is no reason why *gods should have no deity The autor of the Vārtika has pointed* out therefore, that to those who hold that a deity is only verbal, the text of Śabarasvāmin carries no sense[12]

The observations of Śabarasvāmin, therefore, suggests that the *theory of deities being verbal is only to invoke a tradition (praudhivāda)* In fact, the *bhaṣyakāra* merely eulogises *karma*

Tradition ascribes to jaimini, the authorship of the work known as *sankarsa kāṇḍa* also known as *devatā kanda* or *upāsanākāṇḍa* It is said to have been comprised of four chapters The first chapter held that *mantras* unfold the nature of deities The second *chapter maintained that vidhi, arthavāda and nāmadheya are only* expressive of the characteristics of deities The third chapter spoke of the power of the deities of assuming physical forms of their choice at their will or to disappear whenever they so desire *or to* move simultaneously to a number of places and so on The fourth chapter is supposed to have dealt with the idea that the perform*ances of good deeds bring about divinity or salvation*[13]

---

10 Vigraho haviṣam bhogah aisvaryanca prasannata /
phala pradanamityetat pañcakam vigrahadikam / /
vedanta darsana (devata dhikarana)

11 Na devanam devatantarabhavạt Ś Bh on Jai Su VI 1 5

12 Yesām Śabda eva devata teṣamapyayukto granthah Tantra-vartika on *ibid.*

13 *Vide* Prapañca-hṛdaya

The *Maitrayanī-samhitā* of the *kṛṣnayajurveda* school gives the *gāyatrī-mantras* of *Rudra-mahādeva*,[14] *Gauri*,[15] *Ganeśa*,[16] *Kārtikeya*,[17] *Brahmā*,[18] *Viṣnu*[19] and *Sūrya*[20] On having prescribed the rite of fire-consecretion, it gives a *mantra*[21] too for the worship of *Śiva* in the said fire These *mantras* are indicative of physical deities

The *Aitareya-bhāhmana* too while providing for the meditation on a deity[22] affirms that a deity is only physical

The vedānta school also holds that a deity is physical It argues that the *mantras* or the *brahmana*-texts, indicative of the physical nature of a deity cannot be dispensed with as mere *arthavādas* For the *arthavādas* are of identical authority with *vidhis* Mīmāmsā, herself, it points out, recognises *bhūtarthavāda* as an authority in that it neither confirms nor contradicts any other means of valid knowledge *The mantras or the like other texts that are indicative* of the physical nature of a deity neither confirm that any other means of valid knowledge has laid bare nor do these run counter to what some other means of valid knowledge provides for[23]

In *vanaspatibhayah svāha, mūlebhyah svāha* and the like, the supreme soul, resting in a tree or in its roots is understood and hence there is no incongruity[24]

Karma or *apūrva* too does not become redundant in case a deity is physical and makes an award of fruits For in awarding fruits, a deity has to take into account the *karma*, done by individuals For otherwise, he would be charged with partiality and the like[25]

Early vedic ritual was simple in form and in spirit The powers of nature were personified and worshipped as gods with milk, grain butter or the like Worshipping was also inspired by personal gain Objects of worldly desire like children and cattle were prayed for Victory in battles, riding over an enemy were also the objects of prayer

---

14 tatpuruṣaya vidmahe mahadevaya dhimahi tanno Rudrah pracodayat Mai Sam. agniciti-parakarana
15 tad gangaucynya vidmahe girisutaya dhimahi. tanno Gauri pracodayat. ibid
16 tat karaṭaya vidmaḥe hastimukhaya dhimahi. tanno Danti pracodayat. ibid
17 tat kumaraya vidmahe kartikeyaya dhimahi. tannaḥ Skandaḥ pracodyat. ibid
18 tat-caturmukhyaya vidmahe padmasanaya dhimahi tanno Brahma pracodayat. ibid
19 tatkesavaya vidmahe narayanaya dhimahi tanno viṣnuh pracodayaṭ. ibid
20 tadbhaskaraya vidmahe prabhakaraya dhīmahi. tanno Bhanuḥ pracodayaṭ ibid.
21 Devananca ṛṣīnam casuraṇam ca pūrvajam /
Mahadevam sahasrakṣam Śivamavahayamyaham / / ibid
22 yasyai devatayaihavirgṛhītam syat tām dhyayet baṣaṭ Kariṣyan Ai. Br II 1 8.
23 Br Sū. I 3 26-33
24 op. cit
25 Br Sū II 1 34

Gradually, this simple ritual consolidated into an organised cult As a consequence, the character of gods changed, artificial deities were added to the family of gods 'A clay pot or the sacrificial post became the object of fervid adoration as though these were veritable deities of well-nigh paramount power"[26]

Symbolism came to play its role A lotus-leaf symbolising water was provided for to be placed on the sacrificial altar, for an example, where fire was to be installed to suggest that *Agni* is the offspring of water

The notion behind the performance of sacrifice also started changing The sacrificer no longer prayed unto a god for personal gain On the contrary, he thought of forcing the gods or deities to sanctioning what he was after Sacrifice was also resorted to with a view to empowering gods to maintain World order Thus sacrifice reigned supreme

The extreme development of the cult of sacrifice could not yet dry up the earlier notion of gods The later vedic literature, therefore, provides for sacrifice as what man owes to gods in the form of a debt.[27] The grace of god was yet to be sought for

Speculative thinking rose its head The idea of the plurality of gods was gradually replaced by the unitary notion of divinity as found in the concept of the *visve devas* This unity of god head, however, did not imply, as yet the conception of one God Monotheism was still a far cry But it made itself felt All gods were attributed with common virtues 'Philosophical monotheism' was ushered in as a consequence in the form of a precurser to pure mono theism

Gradually what were predicated against gods made of them independent deities *Visvakarman* or *Prajapati*, in this way, assumed the character of the supreme divine being responsible for the creation and maintanence of the universe

26 Sat. Br (Eggeling) Part V p xivi
27 Tai. Sam VI 3 10 5

SUBHĀṢITAS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA*

By

N A DESHPANDE

The Mahābhārata (Mbh) is a mine of subhāṣitas or epigramatic and pithy sayings They cover a wide range of more than seven hundred topics An analysis of the contents of these subhāṣitas is attempted below, which, it is hoped, will give a fair idea of the fields they have covered and of the practical knowledge the Mbh contains The subhāsitas that follow this analysis will amply bear testimony to the oft-repeated subhāṣita viz 'व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्'

Out of the eighteen Parvans, the twelfth viz the Śanti-parvan has the largest number of subhasitas, and number sixteen viz the Mausala contains the smallest number If we arrange the Parvans according to the number of subhāṣitas each of them contains, and place one with the highest number first, then the order would be —

12, 5, 1, 3 13, 6 2, 7 4, 11, 8, 9, 10 15, 14 17 18 and 16

Out of the topics dealt with in these subhāsitas, the topic that has the largest number of subhaṣitas is "King" Other topics like Dharma, Brāhmana, Kshatriya etc come next Some of the subhāṣitas are repeated twice, or even thrice (see e g 5 141 33b, 6 2 14b, 6 21 11b, 6 61 16b, 6 62 34b, 6 117 33b, 11 17 6b)

Some subhāṣitas like असम्भवं हेममृगस्य जन्म supposed to be found in the Mbh are not there So also a number of subhāṣitas from the 'Kanikaniti' will not be found in the collection of subhaṣitas given below (see p 574 of vol I, part II for critical remarks, and Vol 14, chs 138-140 of the Critical Edition) The rendering of the subhāṣitas given in the analysis is free and many times only their gist is given Now follows the analysis

Kinds of men Human beings can be generally put into three categories Best, mediocre and mean (5 33 56), but they can be classified under such heads as good, bad wise, ignorant etc

Good men For a man of good character there is nothing that is unobtainable (12 124 15) An Arya or a good man does not dig up an old enmity that is buried, he is never proud, he does not get

* (Figures in brackets respectively stand for the Parvan Adhyaya and verse from the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona)

perturbed in a calamity (5 33 93), *he is not selfish i e he does not* feel elated when happiness comes to him, or when others are in a difficulty, he does not repent after having given something to someone, and he never brags (5 33 94), for he knows that pride destroys *everything (5 33 43) He avoids self-praise (7 166 34a) He* does not condemn or praise himself or others, since he knows that this is not the way that the Aryas follow (8 25 8) He desires to bring back, striving morally, whatever is taken away from him (5 39 40) He tries to rise above the bonds of the constituents of *Prakṛti to become immortal* (12 207 29)

Such men as first practise *Dharma* and enjoy wealth *obtained morally*, lead a householder s life and perform sacrifices, get happiness in this world and in the next (3 181 37)

Bad men A bad man commits sins through ignorance and yet regards himself to be good, he hates the behaviour of the good so he is naturally condemned by people (12 153 2) such is the nature of bad people that they get irritated or excited all of a sudden and *show favour without a cause* (5 36 39) *If a person keeps contact* with such a man or talks with him or sits by his side or even sees him, he loses the merit of his religious rites (3 1 27) It is advised that a selfish, wicked ungrateful and shameless person should be kept away (5 38 36)

Wise men Intelligence, forbearance control of senses and *giving away* wealth in charity are the *qualities possessed by* wise men (12 82 26) They follow such practices as the performance of sacrifices charity, austerities and respect for the Vedas and for truth (3 199 57) They are advised to avoid harsh and unpleasant *words, perfidy, molesting other s wife, adharma and falsehood* (12 149 75) A wise man is interested in Dharma (3 200 44), he relies neither on enjoyment nor on the evanascent life (9 23 32) He is advised not to hanker after youth physical form, life collection of wealth *prosperity, company of dear persons since* all these are transitory (3 2 45), he should control his senses (12 187 27) While listening to others he takes only what is useful (1 69 10) People try to emulate the example of a wise man (12 136 151), who realises that there is nothing greater than knowledge (6 26 38a)

Ignorant men Sex and hunger are primary instincts of human beings An ignorant person goes after these two only, for the satis*faction of which various sins are committed* (3 2 61) *Ignorant per*sons are not happy even though they get much (3 32 32a) They harass the wise by making great fuss about a thing and thereby in-

cur a sin, but a wise man always forgives them (5 34 71) An ignorant man does not understand the drawbacks in his acts (3.200 6b).

Negligent men One that is negligent has no discrimination and happiness (12 275 16a)

Greedy men One coveting property or wealth meets with great misery, if one gets it, the misery increases, and when one, interested in amassing wealth, is deprived of it, one becomes more miserable (1 145 24)

Ungrateful men An ungrateful man is never successful in life, nor has he any status in life, he is untrustworthy, for him there is no expiation (5 10 10, 12 167 19)

Feeble men A feeble man, especially a king, should not move all alone (1 179 106)

Hungry men A hungry man knows no shame (12 139 50a)

Detached men Non attachment is the root of Śreyas (12 287 3a,) one that is not attached to the worldly objects reaches the Highest Soul (6 25 19b)

Poor and rich men A number of subhāṣitas commend poverty Poverty leads to happiness and great satisfaction in the world (12 170 8 3 203 46) It is even better than a kingdom (12 170 10), for the wealthy person being as it were in the jaws of death, is always depressed (12 170 11), while the poor man sleeps happily (12 170 7b)

But certain subhaṣitas express exactly the opposite view Poverty is nothing but a synonym for death (5 132 13b) It is a sin (12 8 14b) A poor person being always in debts does not live happily (5 105 6) His desires are a source of vexation to himself (5 33 52) It is better for a poor man to die than to get wealth by doing harm to his kinsmen (5 14 13b 6 92 6a) For one who enjoys the money of his friend and is unable to return it, it is better to die (5 105 7) A man who borrows money with a promise to return it and does not keep his promise loses all his religious merit (5 105 8) A poor man gets neither this nor the next world (12 8 22), he is unable to perform his religious duties (12 8 23) The rich become richer and the poor always remain poor (12 8 21) A great difference between the physical health of the rich and the poor is brought out by a subhāṣita which says that the rich have no strength for enjoyment, while the poor digest even wood (5 34 49 12 28 29) Another point of difference is that a stranger becomes the friend of a wealthy man while a poor man's kinsmen desert him

(12 309 86), friends throng around a rich man (5 133 35) He alone gets a friend, he alone is respected by his kinsmen, he alone is manly and he alone is looked upon as a wise man (12 8 19)

Artha or wealth, worldly objects Though material prosperity or Artha occupies a very important position in human life, Mbh clearly says that the order of the goals of human life that one should follow is *Dharma, Artha and Kāma (12 161 26)*

Acquisition and preservation of wealth A man should collect wealth as a bee collects honey from flowers without hurting them (5 34 17) Nothing can be gained if an effort is not made to get it (10 1 33) *Man longs for material prosperity, but it is hard to have* it (3 245 27) Sometimes human effort becomes useless to obtain wealth (5 34 20), one desiring material prosperity should follow Dharma from the beginning Artha cannot be had without Dharma as nectar cannot be had except from the heaven (5 37 44) Experts in political economy value the acquisition of a thing sure to be obtained more than that of a thing of doubtful acquisition (10 1 47)

Proper use of wealth is either enjoying it or giving it in charity (2 5 101, 5 39 51, 12 309 91) A family prospers because of wealth *Though Artha, as a goal of human life succeeds Dharma,* yet Dharma proceeds from it (12 8 23a) Wealth thus being very useful in the performance of religious duties should be preserved carefully (12 21 12) Not only both this and the next world can be attained by means of Artha (12 128 43), but anything else also can be attained with it (12 128 49a) Wealth utilised for making offerings to deities and dead ancestors is not unending (12 134 5), again, it does not give so much happiness as Dharma does (12 263 55b) A person acquiring wealth by fraudulent means goes away from Dharma (12 130 17b, 12 281 19a, 12 161 23, 24) Only way to secure spiritual welfare from wealth is to sacrifice it (3 34 63a), one who secures wealth only for its own sake does not know what it is, such a man is like a forest keeper (3 34 24) A man who *continuously longs for material prosperity only and does not practise* Dharma and Kāma, merits death (3 34 25)

It should be borne in mind that acquisition of wealth is uncertain (4 19 3a), for such is the nature of things that a thing conceived one way may turn otherwise (2 72 10, 4 4 27, 5 78 6a) A prosperous person should be firm minded, for, like swans deserting *a dry lake, material objects turn away from him who is fickle-minded* who lacks restraint, or who is dragged away by his senses (5 36 38), but a rich man who has foresight and is firm minded seldom loses his wealth (5 39 41)

A wealthy man should not forget that he is fleeced by all (2 5 101, 3 2 39, 5 39 51)

A very important universal truth is told in a subhāṣita viz it is money that makes man go or man is the slave of money, and not vice versa (6 41 36)

Certain subhāṣitas tell how responsible persons like kings should look at material prosperity or Artha All kinds of movements become possible with the increase of material prosperity (12 8 16) All undertakings of an unintelligent person having no Artha are of no use like rivers in summer (2 8 18) There is no friend and no foe, it is Artha that makes friends or foes (12 136 104) No friendship is stable and no enmity is eternal It is material prosperity that brings about friendship or enmity (12 136 14) The entire world pursues Artha, it is Artha that produces liking or disliking for a person (12 136 145b) Joy, anger, learning and restraint also follow from Artha (12 8 21)

It should be desired for the acquisition of Dharma, and Dharma is the protection and preservation of the body (12 123 6) Without Artha, neither Dharma nor Kama can proceed (12 161 13) Not only Dharma and Kāma, but even heaven cannot be attained without Artha Without it, people cannot even survive (12 18 17) Artha in company of Dharma and Dharma connected with Artha are like honey and nectar mixed together (12 161 23) People get fed up with a person who has neither Dharma nor Artha (12 161 24)

Two subhāsitas tell in a nutshell what one's view towards material prosperity should be They are Avoid attachment to Artha (12 266 9) and Artha acquired morally is real, that which is not so should be condemned (12 281 19a)

Dharma As said above Dharma occupies the first place in the four goals of human life, it is here treated after Artha because as noted above, Artha helps to secure Dharma and majority of people are more inclined to Artha than to Dharma, since tendency to material gain is more natural and instinctive than to spiritual prosperity or abstract virtues

Dharma is very subtle (2 34 3a, 13 10 2ab, 13 10 64b) Eternal Dharma is based on truth, and it is very difficult to conceive it (3 197 39, 5 35 49), and is known only by the experts (2 60 31b), who describe it to be very noble (3 34 51a, 3 200 3b) It is the greatest thing in the world, and if properly practised it gives peace (2 60 13cd) It is so called because it preserves and keeps the society in tact (8 49 50)

The term 'Dharma' is variously explained It is the preservation of the body (12 123 6) Kindness is great Dharma (3 67 15b) *Kindness and straightness are Dharma (13 23 19) Forgiveness* and highest peace of mind constitute Dharma (5 33 48) It is the way of living without *perfidy or with the least perfidy* (12 254 6) It consists in not being attached to anything (12 328 14b) and in being harmless (14 43 19b) Whatever is connected with harm lessness is Dharma (12 110 10) Doing one s duty is Dharma (3 199 15) A just undertaking is Dharma (3 198 72a) Not taking what is not given, self study, austerities, harmlessness, truth absence of wrath, forgiveness and sacrifice constitute Dharma (12 37 7)

Not thinking of some one else's wife, protecting a lady kept under one s protection not taking what is not given, avoiding honey and liquors is five fold Dharma (13 128 26) Harmlessness, truth, absence of hunger, charity — these four constitute Dharma (13 147 22) Customs, Smrtis and Vedas tell what Dharma is (12 130 15, 12 251 3, 13 129 5) Dharma has scriptures as its authority (3 198 78) What is practised by the good is Dharma and not that which is practised by the wicked (12 139 70)

The world depends upon Dharma and it is possible to practise it by even the affluent (3 34 47) The other goals of human life and even the kingdom depend upon Dharma (3 5 4)

Artha and Kama, bereft of Dharma, should never be practised (5 122 35), *since Dharma always stands at the top of the other goals* (12 161 18) So in this evanascent world one should practise Dharma right from one's birth (11 4 14a)

Dharma is to be practised by one all alone (12 186 27), and one *should not make a show of one's practising Dharma (13 148 35)* One who tries to take undue advantage of Dharma does not get the merit due to it Same is the case with a person who is uncertain about Dharma (3 32 5,6), for such a person there is no expiation (3 32 17a)

One who follows Dharma with determination obtains immortality hereafter (3 32 19) It is the raft to reach heaven (3 32 22) It is the best course (12 143 8a) Dharma does not make one or one s friends weak (3 34 21) It is not good to swerve from one s Dharma (3 34 54b), for real Dharma does not come in the way of one s duty (3 131 10) In fact it proceeds from one s conduct (3 150 26a)

Truth and purity protect Dharma (5 34 37) It is difficult to know the course of Dharma (12 30 1a), may be, one in a *thousand*

knows what it is (3 205 15) Dharma distinguishes between sin and virtue (3 296 1)

There is no greater gain than Dharma (13 109 62b) The prosperity of all beings depends upon the spread of Dharma (12 91 14) It is better to die while practising Dharma than to get victory by foul means (12 96 16b), since there is no greater gain than a victory got through proper means (12 97 10) Dharma always brings in its rewards It is through Dharma that sages have crossed the mundane existence or that gods reside in heaven (12 161 7)

Under no pressure should Dharma be renounced (5 40 11) Only under very exceptional circumstances Adharma becomes Dharma (12 128 15b)

One who practises Dharma, Artha and Kāma as the occasion demands and makes a proper fusion of the three is happy in this world and in the next (5 37 46)

Victory follows Dharma (5 141 33b, 6 2 14b, 6 21 11b, 6 61 16b, 6 62 34b, 6 117 33b, 11 17 6b)

Dharma is eternal, while happiness and unhappiness are temporary (18 5 50), and it alone goes with the departed soul (14 32 7b)

In brief, Dharma is Do not do unto others what you do not like to be done unto you (5 39 57)

Kāma The next goal of human life is Kāma or desire It is defined as the love or interest produced in the minds of those who are attached to the objects of senses (3 34 37)

Kāma is in a way important in the life of a human being since one who is without it, has no desire either for Dharma or for Artha (12 161 28), but it is not as important as Dharma because it takes away one's sense of decorum (5 35 43) It is impossible to indulge in Kāma and at the same time to avoid a woman (5 39 66) A sensual person perishes after the objects of his senses have perished (5 42 10a) There is no bondage like Kama (12 243 7), because when the desires become strong, one leads to another (13 94 30) A person acting at will by ignoring Śastric injunctions does not succeed, does not become happy and does not attain salvation (6 38 23) Therefore the best way to become prosperous is to renounce Kāma (3 297 57)

Family A family can be well protected by means of good conduct (5 34 37) In one and the same family different types of persons are born (5 3 3) One should renounce a member of one's family for the good of the family, one's family for one's own village,

one's own village for one's nation, and the entire world for one's own self (1 107 32)

Child Childless persons do not reach any of the good worlds (1 90 67), nothing purifies them (1 111 24), all kinds of vows and fasts observed by an issueless person are of no avail (2 38 27) People do not like to visit the house of a childless person (1 111 11) For the parents a child is a kind of stability in the world (1 111 23b), in the family and in the race (1 69 17), and it brings in the reward that Dharma would give (1 111 31a) Austerities, sacrifices or all other sanctifying objects do not equal a child (1 41 28, 2 38 26)

But there is at least one subhaṣita which says that sonless persons are lucky since they may not be required to suffer the bereavement of the son (3 138 17) But this solitary subhāṣita does not reflect the view of the Mbh society, which values a child very much and a son, the most

Son Those who desire their welfare long for sons (12 146 13a) The son is none else but the father reborn (1 68 62b, 1 68 74a), he is the soul of the father (3 297 51a) For human beings (—who have tactile perception) there is nothing greater than a son (1 68 56)

A son is called 'puttra' since he saves his parents from falling into the hell called 'pums' (1 68 39) Greatest acquisition in the world is to have a son (13 67 33b), a son saves his father from incurring demerit, hence he is called a 'son' (14 93 37)

Sons are as it were, rafts of religion saving the parents (from getting drowned in the ocean of the mundane existence) (1 69 19) Sons give religious merit and fame to their parents and delight their minds (1 69 19)

Everyone desires to have a son (7 166 5) and nobody likes to have a short lived son (6 108 40a)

Duties of a son *He should show the greatest respect for* his parents (3 297 41a) Obedience to his father destroys all the sin of a son (12 258 18b), and is the greatest Dharma (12 258 10) He can truly be called a son with whom the parents are pleased (12 137 92) Pleasing one's father is like pleasing Prajapati and pleasing one s mother is like propitiating the Earth (13 7 25) Obedience to one's father is a great religious duty and protection of one s mother is one's natural duty (12 258 10, 15 8 8b) A son, eventhough younger, who is virtuous and always *obedient* to his parents deserves all good things (1 80 22)

The parents should never desert their son (1 150.5b), but a bad son, who is not famous as a donor, as one who has practised austerities, or as a brave man, or as a learned man or as a rich man, and who, therefore, is merely the excrement of his mother (5 131 21) should be deserted (12 137 89).

Daughter A daughter did not enjoy the same status as a son. She was looked upon as a great calamity (1 147 11a cf Rāmāyana 7 9 10 and 11, Gujrati Printing Press Edition) No one would like to give away his daughter like a beast (1 213 4). A daughter brings either fame or ignominy to the three families her mother's family, her father's family and her husband's family (5 95 16, a similar idea occurs in the verse from Rāmāyana, quoted above) An uncultured daughter would never reach any one of the good worlds (9 5 1 11) A pregnant maiden is a sinner (13 36 17b) Only good point about a daughter is "The eldest sister is to be looked upon as mother by the younger brothers and sisters" (13 108 19)

Wife She is called 'jayā' because the son, the very self of the husband is born of her (3 13 62a) She gives enjoyment and sons to her husband (6 5 101, 13 20 61b), she is the friend of the house-holder (3 297 45) When the wife is protected, the children are protected (3 13 61), a man having a wife is trusted by others, so a wife is a great 'gati' (1 68 43) In spite of such an important status given to a wife, polygamy is not condemned (14 97 14a)

Parents One who has given birth to a child, one who saves his life, and one who nourishes him are his parents (1 66 13)

Mother Women in general did not enjoy the same status as men A mother is looked upon as a 'pouch' (in which the child is borne during pregnancy) (1 90 31a), yet she is said to have authority over her son (1 99 38), she is even greater than the earth (3 297 41a, 12 109 16b, 13 108 14), she is the Southern Fire (12 109 7), she is the 'arani and a solace to all that are afflicted (12 258 24b) She protects her son, strong or weak (12 258 27), there is no shelter like the mother, no other recourse than her, no protection like her, she is the greatest fountain (2 259 29) There is no teacher like the mother (3 61 89 12 329 113 13 109 62)

The above analysis of the subhāṣitas pertaining to 'wife' and mother shows that a 'woman' did not enjoy a high status, but a 'mother' did

Father A father places himself (i e deposits his semen) into (the body of) his wife to have a son with a view to the preservation of the family and character (12 258 13) A father is heaven, he is Dharma, he is a great penance, when he is pleased, all deities are

pleased (12 258 20) Though afflicted with love for his son, a father does not give up his affection for his son (12 258 40a)

The Four Castes Brahmana In the hierarchy of castes Brahmana was at the top (8 23 32a) He is said to be the greatest among men (4 2 12) and among all the castes (1 76 19, 5 80 176) •

The important duties of a Brāhmana are harmlessness, truthfulness, fogiveness and preservation of the Vedic lore (1 11 14), and character, kindness, restraint, disgust (3 177 16), friendship with all beings, charity and self study (12 14 15, 12 55.14, 12 282 21) are his qualities The twelve great vows of a Brāhmana are Dharma, truth restraint, austerities, endurance, sacrifice charity, courage learning and absence of malice and jealousy (5 4 3 12) A Brāhmana is free from anger and delusion of mind speaks the truth pleases his preceptors, does not harm any one though harmed, has self restraint and is engaged in Vedic studies (3 197 31,32 33 36), as the Vedas are his relatives (5 34 36) Self study and observance of vows are the great wealth of Brāhmanas (5 186 11) What is the use of material wealth for him? (13 105 12d) Restraint is a great virtue of a Brahmana (10 3 19 .20) He is like a father to the other castes and is their preceptor (1-24 4) There is none greater than a Brahmana among the learned persons (13 122 86) It is not easy to obtain the rank of a Brāhmana (13 29 16b), to obtain a kingdom is easier than obtaining the rank of a Brāmana (13 54 29a) A Brahmaṇa is great by Mantra (5 165 15) He has incomporable vision (3 27 16), maturity and power of speech are to be found in a Brāhmana *(2 19 426) He is a friend of all (1 209 5a, 12 60 12b) His* heart is soft like butter (5 186 29a) though his tongue is sharp like a razor (1 3 323) A Brahmaṇa resembles fire, so he should never be killed (1 24 36, 1 179 13a) Gifts of thousands of villages and cows should be given to him One who gives such gifts is absolved of all sins (3 34 76) No one should disobey him (3 205 21), or act against his will for he is like the flames of fire (7 126 36), an angry *Brāhmana may destroy the nation (5 40.25), burn the earth* (3 197 22b) or destroy even the worlds (3 189 18b) A man serving a Brahmaṇa gets fame (13 57 19)

A Brāhmaṇa who does not perform the duties of a Brāhmaṇa and is engaged in the duties of a Kṣatriya should be killed (7 135 33) However, under exceptional circumstances he may wield a weapon protection of himsellf, of an inaccessible place or when commixture of castes is imminent (12 79 33)

Kṣatriya The duty of a Kṣatriya is the protection of all beings (12 120 3a 12 129 73a, 1 11 15) and administration of jus

tice (12.24.30b; 1.11.15). His duty is very fearful and always needs a weapon (12.22.5). His duty is to fight (1.127.11a; 8.39.32). He should always accept a challenge to fight (12.55.17). Casting his body in a war greatly befits a kṣatriya (5.156.7b; 12 22.3). and not dying at home (6.17.11) or resorting to a forest (3.49.13), because it is the duty or Dharma of a kṣatriya to die on the battle—field (7-50-67). A powerless kṣatriya, though endowed with all other qualities, is of no use (2 15.10), for such a kṣatriya is the meanest of all (10.3.70). A kṣatriya cannot be devoid of anger (3.28.34). He does not have feelings like love or soft — heartedness, nor does he care for friendship (12 13 13a) Victory is his embellishment (13.59.3), and he should help Brāhmaṇas (1.150.21) and other castes (1 150 22 23).

A vaiśya is expected to be deligent and should please all other castes (10.3.19, 20).

A Śūdra must be maintained by other castes (12 60 31b) and one senior in age should be respected (5 165 15)

King:—A kṣatriya alone is entitled to kingship, which is the greatest Dharma (12 128 47a) His eternal duty is to please his subjects, practise truth and be straightforward in his dealings (12.57.11) He is everything for his subjects (12 68 59) He is the protector of all castes (3 198 30a) and of Dharma (12 91 5). A king who properly looks after Dharma becomes the lord of the earth (12 91 5, 12 92.63b) Dharma depends upon him (2 91.5ab). Even if one, learned in the Vedas, challenges a king, he should punish him according to law (12 56 29) If he fails in his duty he cannot get success or reach heaven (12 69.31) If he is irreligious his subjects are doomed (12 92 12b). His great duty is to curb the wicked and protect Dharma and the good and not to flee from the battlefield (12 14 16, 12 57 15b) He should be cautious of enemies who have been defeated but have come together (9.57 13). He should do that which leads to the happiness of himself and all other beings, that is the main cause of Dharma and Artha (5 37.36).

A king should be truthful (2 19 40b). His behaviour is different from that of other people, so he should always think of self-aggrandisement (2 50 14). In contrast to what has been expressed in this subhāṣita, a subhāṣita says that a king should not have the sense of mineness for his grandeur or wealth; for it is a rule relating to kings that what one has acquired is taken away by another (2.50.19).

These seven the king should always try to protect ministers, treasury, sceptre, friends, nation, city and himself (12.69 62, 63).

He should not kill a woman, a child, an ascetic or a timid fellow, so also one who is not fighting (12 133 13) He should not fleece the subjects by extracting heavy taxes from them (12 88 19) He receives one fourth of the religious merit of his subjects if they are properly ruled (5 130 11)

A King should not destroy other's wealth, should give in time *whatever is to be given, he should be brave, speak the truth and* be forgiving, such a king does not go away from the right path (12 57 12) *He should undertake commended things only (5 38* 20, 21) He should feed those who are not fed, should take care *of those who are fed (12 57 19), should always protect the good* (12 79 43) His behaviour should be ideal (12 26 36) He who *can control his passions* properly rules the earth (5 *127* 32, 5 33 85) and is trusted by his subjects (12 57 29), the one oppo*site of this becomes unhappy (12 137 107)*

State of anarchy is very bad (2 49 62, 12 67 3, 12 67 7b) Similarly if a king is mild his subjects are unhappy (2 50 21) and one who is soft or harsh as occasion demands is successful in his undertakings (12 56 21, 12 138 66) A king who is ill behaved, proud, obstinate jealous and does not protect his subjects incurs sin and is called "uncontrolled" (12 25 8) He incurs sin if he is unable to protect his subjects (12 25 19) Such a king is useless (12 79 40 42) Countries ruled over by a woman or a gambler or a boy sink like stone-boats in a river (5 38 40)

A King who has control over himself can alone put under con*trol his ministers and his enemies (5 34 54) Kings have unsteady* minds, so they speak sweet words, but strike hard (2 57 12cd) A *king who, with a stable mind sees his own faults and considers* opportune time and proper place becomes very prosperous (12 12 4) A king of a rash nature perishes immediately (12 93 15b), but one that practises Dharma rises to godhead (5 130 12) He controls time and not vice versa (5 130 15)

It is the deeds of a king that turn friends into foes and foes into friends (12 136 13) A weak king being alert and *cautious*, can defeat a strong king (2 14 8) Similarly if weak kings come together they can defeat a mighty *king, as bees are able to kill a* honey collector (3 34 68) Before undertaking anything he should consider time and place *(12 136 14) He should bear in mind that* it is exertion that is important and not the consequence, so without *caring for victory or defeat, he should strive* (12 25 21)

His Treasure —A king s treasure is his forte for an army can be maintained only if he has a large treasure *(12 128 35) To*

build up a large treasure he should follow the middle path (12 131 3)

Espionage—He should get information from all quarters through his spies (3 149 40), for he sees through his spies (5 34 32) Bad espionage ruins everything (12 69 13b) That king whose designs are not known to anyone and whose spying system is efficient prospers (5 38 15, 5 38 18ab), so also one whose plans are not known by his enemies (12 57 39, 12 138 24), or even by the members of his assembly (5 38 19)

War, victory, defeat—A king should fight for victory (12 96 11b) As victory leads to great fame (8 46 14b), it also leads to enmity (5 70 59a) Clear or pleasing directions smokeless fire go ing up various fragrances conches and drums making loud sounds, the bright sun and the moon indicate future victory (6 4 16 17) It is better for a king to die in a just fight than get victory through sinful deeds (12 96 16b) since there is no better gain than a victory obtained in a just battle (12 97 10b) He has to bear in mind that victory or defeat is not a constant factor i e one is neither always victorious nor does one always get defeated (12 107 17a) Even a defeat in a just battle leads a king to heaven (8 42 14b) A king desirous of victory does not get victory by means of his strength and prowess but only through truth and com passion (6 21 10)

A king desiring to save his life should fight with his adversaries when they cannot be conciliated by sweet words or gifts (5 80 13) Like a crane he should think about the affairs should be brave like a lion greedy like a wolf and should fly at an object like a hare (12 138 25)

Danda (Sceptre) Administration—The Danda (a symbol of the judicial authority or punishment) is the strength of the king (5 34 72) If it is properly wielded the four castes are well-con trolled (5 130 13) and behave well (12 15 11 12 31) If there were no Danda the mighty would have harassed the weak (15 15 30) When a king properly administers justice it may be said that the great Krta yuga has dawned (5 130 14) Danda rules all the subjects it awakens the sleeping ones it is looked upon as Dharma by the wise (12 15 2) It protects the three goals of human life viz Dharma Artha and Kama (12 15 3) It is not to be abused (12 133 20a) It has got to be used and not abandoned for if it is not used there would be chaos (3 149 32b) Subjects protected through the proper administration of justice help the king prosper (12 121 34 12 137 10b) It preserves the grains and wealth (12 15 4) People do not behave wantonly through fear of Danda

(12 15 5) Everything is settled in Danda (12 15 6) It is so called because it restrains or curbs people from doing wrong things (12 15 8)

Subjects —Should always be afraid of the king, since he is their lord, he kills a person doing wrong (3 198 6) They must behave in such a way as to please the king (3 238 46) A king is not to be disrespected because he is a human being, he is a great deity in human form (12 68 40) One going against him does not get happiness (12 68 49a) When the king rules justly, the subjects do not transgress the bounds of morality (3 149 49)

Gambling —It leads to rift, which in its turn, routs the kingdom (2 46 12) It leads to strife — no wise man would like it (2 50 10a) It is the root of struggle and leads to mutual segregation or battle (2 56 1) It brings about enmity and great fear (2 59 5c) No one except a wicked gambler would give up his kingdom and go in for gambling as for renunciation (4 17 11)

Ministers —A king s strength depends upon his ministers (5 37 48 etc) A king should seek advice from experts (3 149 43) He should not confide in a minister who is not attached to him (12 84 28a)

King s family priests —He should have a family priest if he wishes his kingdom to prosper (1 164 13) His priests should be well versed in the Vedas, the six Angas, should be pure and truth-speaking religions and self restrained (1 159 17) A king having such priests becomes victorious (1 159 18) He should follow the advice of his priest (1 159 20)

Acts, Exertion, Destiny —Every act is binding (12 23 37), or we are ruled by Karma (13 1 65b) The rule 'Reap as you sow is universal (12 270 20ab, 12 279 21, 13 6 10, 14 18 1a) Every act has its consequence (11 2 23) Whatever one gets in the world is due to one s own acts (11 3 7, 13 6 10), nothing that is done by a person perishes (3 225 170), its consequence can never be avoided (11 18 12b) A sinful, contemplible act or an act involving harm should not be done (1 85 5ab, 12 280 6, 12 280 18b, 12 283 23b) Good Karma leads to good results (12,158 38a) Man's past Karma does not leave him (3 142 1b, 3 199 16) His past deeds are responsible for his present condition, so he should not worry (11 3 14a, 12 168 37, 12 174 16), for the fruit of a Karma done here is enjoyed in the next world (3 245 19a, 3 247 35) It is the doer of an act that gets its good or bad fruit (12 149 37, 3 200 5), so one should think before one undertakes anything (5 34 19)

One has to remember that one cannot escape doing Karma, because it is one's very nature (6.25 5, 11 2 22) So the best course in life is to perform one's duty — whether fruitful or otherwise (3 32 3), one should not hanker after its fruit (6 24 47); but should do the karma assigned to one, since action is superior to non action (6 25 8) One's own duty — even if it is deficient — is better than some one else's, even if the latter can be performed in a better fashion (6 40 47b, 48)

Though such a great emphasis is laid on one's performing one's duty and though it is said that exertion is 'Pauruṣa', and is supremely important (12 56 15), and is the 'actual fruit of action' (3 33 16), yet the role of fate or destiny is not totally ruled out

It is said that no one can set aside fate or destiny (5 40 30, 9 64 29b), destiny is powerful and man's exertion is useless (1 192 12a, 2 43 32a, 34a, 2 45 57b, 6 58 1a) Fate is stronger than exertion (3 176 27), success depends upon fate (7 120 28b, 29b, 7 133 64b) Happiness or unhappiness is due to fate (1 84 7), no body can control his fate (13 6 47)

With these subhāṣitas we also find those which give importance to both exertion and fate There is no other factor responsible for the success of an undertaking than exertion and fate (10 2 2) Fate must be accompanied by exertion (13 6 7)

Food —The importance of food is brought out by telling that life depends upon food (3 246 25, 12 18 27), everything depends upon food (3 131 16), and there is no gift like food (13 62 6)

Body, senses and mind —As a man casts off his clothes whether old or new, similarly bodies are cast off (by the soul) (11 3 6, 6 26 20)

Human body is transitory (3 200 23b) but not the soul (3 200 23) In human body the following five faults are noticed The four instincts viz sex, anger, fear and sleep and the life principle (12 290 54) Health is the greatest acquisition (3 297 53b)

One being led by the senses loses wealth life and wife (5 34 60)

Man s mind is very fickle (5 73 19a) and speedier than the wind (3 297 41b)

The Lord —The Lord is said to remain in the heart of all (6 40 61) Man is the tool in His hands (14 3 2)

Important personages —Krṣna Arjuna, Janaka have been referred to as important men. About Krsna it is said that victory

comes wherever he is present (1 197 25b, 6 21 12b, 6 41 55a), Keśava cannot be seized with force (5 128 39) Keśava like Rāma (cf Rāmāyana, 2 19 30), does not speak twice (5 160 23a) Govinda is the most holy among the holy (3 86 23) King Janaka (12 17 18) and Dhananjaya are referred to with respect (1 77 16, 2 158 28)

Beasts —Bull is used for an analogy (12 78 40) Cow is very much respected (12 35 31), one may burn a forest to protect cows (12 35 31b) A wolf may kill an unprotected lion (6 16 18a), a tiger and a forest depend upon each other (5 29 48)

Human virtues and weaknesses —Mildness, contentment, character, straightness, penance, restraint truth and charity are all of equal value (14 93 93)

Truthfulness —There is no greater Dharma than truth or nothing superior to it (1 69 24a), so one should overcome falsehood with truth (5 39 58)

Good character —There is nothing in the world that people of good character cannot obtain (12 124 15)

Courage —Always pluck up courage (5 39 44)

Self emancipation —One should deliver oneself and not allow oneself to sink (6 28 5)

Non-attachment —Leads to Śreyas (12 287 3a)

Kindness —Is a great virtue (3 203 41, 3 297 55a, 3 297 71a, 12 220 109b, 12 316 12a, 13 59 6a)

Forgiveness —Is great strength (3 203 41)

Renunciation —Best tyaga is that of affection and of the objects of senses (12 156 17), it is a great penance (12 155 9b, 14 47 3), one who renounces the fruit of karma is real 'tyagi' (6 40 11)

Straightness —Gives one the same religious merit as baths at holy places (5 35 2)

Weaknesses —Enmity causes perturbation (2 51 10), jealousy straightway leads to death (5 40 4a), harsh words destroy wealth (5 40 4a), serving an anārya spoils one's character (5 35 43), immodesty destroys wealth (5 34 12b), hypocrisy leads to sin (1 68 26), false hope is nothing but death (5 35 43) Everyone wants pleasure (12 137 58b)

A few Don'ts —One should not have illicit connection with other's wife (13 107 20a) One should never renounce one's

Dharma (8 5 50) One should not serve these six mean persons one whose deeds are not easily intelligible, one who talks too much, a habitual liar, one who lacks devotion, one drawn asunder and one who is very much self-conceited (5 36 20, 5 37 33) One should avoid killing theft, other s wife, telling a lie, harshness, wickedness and falsehood (13 13 13 14) One should not try to find the origin of sages, rivers, families of the great, ladies and of a wicked act (5 35 62) One should not speak words that cut the vitals of others (5 34 77) One should not depend upon others for executing one's own job (2 51 7) A man should not depend upon but should renounce these six like a boat shattered in the ocean, a teacher not teaching a Brāhmaṇa not studying a king who does not protect, a wife who does not talk sweetly, a cowherd remaining in a town and a barber remaining in a forest (12 57 45)

Thus the subhāṣitas in the Mbh cover a vast range of topics like the goals of human life, kingship, duties of castes etc, leaving almost nothing that concerns a human being Most of them are didactic in nature telling how a human being should behave in the world, and in this respect they differ from the subhāṣitas occurring in the Rāmāyana where of course, the number of the subhāṣitas is smaller, and their range narrower as that epic is much smaller in size than the Mbh Verses like Mbh 5 39 44 and Rāmāyaṇa 5 12 10 are verbally the same, such subhāṣitas must have been popular and so the authors of the epics might have incorporated them

(The Sanskrit subhāṣitas that follow are arranged in an alphabetical order of the topics)

अकापुरुषव्रतम्–	अपनीत सुनीतेन योऽर्थं प्रत्यानिनीषत । मतिमास्थाय सुदृढा तदकापुरुषव्रतम् ॥	5 39 40
अकिंचन –	अकिंचन सुख शेते समुत्तिष्ठति चैव हि ।	12 170-7b
अकीर्ति –	अकीर्ति कीर्त्यते यस्य लोके भूतस्य कस्यचित् । पतत्येवाधमाँल्लोकान्यावच्छब्द स कीर्त्यते ॥	3 191 22
अकृतात्मा–	यथैध स्वसमुत्थेन वह्निना नाशमृच्छति । तथाकृतात्मा लोभेन सहजेन विनश्यति ॥	3 ? 37
अक्रोधन –	अक्रोधन क्रोधनेभ्यो विशिष्ट ।	1 82 6a
अगस्त्य –	अगस्त्येन विना को हि शक्तोऽर्णवशोषणे ।	3 101 10
अचिन्त्यम्–	प्रकृतिभ्य पर यत्तु तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् ।	6-6-11b
अज्ञानम्–	लोभप्रभवमज्ञान वृद्ध भूय प्रवर्धते ।	12 153 10a
अतिक्रम –	दैवेनोपहते राजा कर्मकाले महाद्युते । प्रमादयति तत्कर्म न तत्राहुरतिक्रमम ॥	12 25-14
अतिथि –	गृहस्थस्य हि धर्मोऽग्र्य सम्प्राप्तातिथिपूजनम् ।	13-2 68b
अतिमान –	अतिमान श्रिय हन्ति पुरुषस्याल्पमेधस ।	13-136-17a

अतिवाद –	अतिवाद श्रियो वध ।	5-40-4a
अतीतम्–	मृत वा यदि वा नष्ट योऽतीतमनशोचति । दु खेन लभते दु ख द्वावनर्थौ प्रपद्यते ।।	12 317-9
अदक्ष –	भूति श्रीर्ह्रीर्धृति सिद्धिर्नादक्षे निवसन्त्युत ।	12-27 30b
अद्रोह् –	अद्रोह सर्वभूतेषु सतोष शीलमार्जवम् । तपो दमश्च सत्य च दान चेति सम मतम् ।।	14 93 93
अधना –	त्रय एवाधना राजन्भार्या दासस्तथा सुत ।	1 77-2a
	त्रय किलेमे अधना भवन्ति दास शिष्यश्चास्वतन्त्रा च नारी ।	2 63 1ab
	अधनस्य मृत श्रेयो न हि ज्ञातिक्षये जय ।	5 142 13b
	अधनस्य मृत श्रेयो न च ज्ञातिवधाद्धनम ।	6-92 6a
	अधनस्येह जीवितार्थो न विद्यते ।	12-173 6b
अधर्म –	यश्चाधर्मेण विब्रूयाद्यश्चाधर्मेण पृच्छति । तयोरन्यतर प्रैति विद्वेष चाधिगच्छति ।।	1 3 21
	नाधर्मेण जित कश्चिद् व्यथते वै पराजयात् ।	2 69 7b
	अनाचारस्त्वधर्मेति एतच्छिष्टानुशासनम् ।	3 198 72b
	स्वकर्म त्यजतो ब्रह्मन्नधर्म इह दृश्यते ।	3 199 15a
	आशायास्तनयोऽधर्म ।	2 263 12a
	अनुक्रोशादधर्म च जयेद्धममुपेक्षया ।	2 266-9a
अधिभूतम–	अधिभूत क्षरो भाव ।	6-30 4a
अध्यात्मम्–	स्वभावोऽध्यात्ममुच्यते. ।	6-30 3a
अनय –	उच्यमान च य श्रेयो गृहीते नो हिताहिते । आपद समनुप्राप्य स शोचत्यनये स्थित ।।	11-1? 5
अनर्थ –	अनार्यवृत्तमप्राज्ञमसूयकमधार्मिकम् । अनर्था क्षिप्रमायान्ति वाग्दुष्ट क्रोधन तथा ।।	5 38 32
	मृत वा यदि वा ।	12 317-19 (see above)
अनशनम–	तपो नानशनात्परम् ।	13 109 62b
अनसूय –	अनसूय कृतप्रज्ञ शोभनान्याचरन्सदा । अकृच्छ्रात्सुखमाप्नोति सर्वत्र च विराजते ।।	5 35 55
अनार्य –	जरा रूप हरति । शीलमनार्यसेवा ।।	5 35-13
अनित्य –	अनित्य यौवन रूप जीवित द्रव्यसचय । ऐश्वर्य प्रियसवासो गृध्येदेषु न पण्डित ।।	3 2 15
अनिर्वेद –	अनिर्वेद श्रियो मूलम् ।	5 39 1a
	अनिर्वेद सदा कार्यो निर्वेदाद्धि कुत सुखम् ।	12 149 47a
अनुत्तम –	मानेन रक्षन धान्यमश्वानवेक्ष्यत्यनुत्तम ।	5-34 38a
अनुक्रोश –	अनुक्रोशो हि साधूना सुमहद्धर्मलक्षणम । अनुक्रोशश्च साधूना सदा प्रीति प्रयच्छति ।।	13 5-23
अनुपाय –	न हि कश्चिदनुपायेन कश्चिदर्थोऽभिसिध्यति ।	12,196 11

(To be continued)

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ SERIES

No.	Title	Rs.
1	* विशुद्धिमग्ग by Buddhaghoṣācārya, ed. Dharmananda Kosambi	16 00
2	* भरतेश्वर-बाहुबलिरास ed Muni Jinavijayaji	1.00
3.	ज्ञानदीपिका महाभारततात्पर्यटीका on the उद्योगपर्व by Devabodha, ed Dr. S. K. De	4.00
4.	भगवद्गीता भास्करोपवर्णनादि च Mm Anantakrishna Shastri	4 00
5.	चन्द्रलेखासट्टक by Rudradāsa, ed. Dr. A. N Upadhye	10.00
6	* गुजराती स्वरव्यंजनप्रक्रिया Gujarati translation of Dr. Turner's '*Gujarati Phonology*' by Prof. K. K. Shastri	2 00
7	* वेदवादद्वात्रिंशिका by Siddhasenadivākara, ed. Pandit Shukhlalji	20 00
8	रसरत्नप्रदीपिका by Allarāja, ed Dr. R N. Dandekar	3.00
9	* शतकत्रयी by Bhartṛhari with a new commentary, ed. D D Kosambi	6 00
10	* Puranic Words of Wisdom, ed. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar	2 00
11	अन्योक्तिस्तबकसंग्रह ed Miss Pratibha Trivedi	2 00
12.	* वेदभाष्यसार by Bhattoji Dikshita, ed. Pandit R. K. Patanakar, Introduction by Prof P K. Gode	1.00
13	* अर्थपदविविचार by Kshirasamudravāsimiśra, ed. Acharya T. A. V. Dikshitar	1.00
14	* कौमुदीमहोत्सव by Smt. Shakuntala Rao Shastri	5.00
15	कादम्बरी-पूर्वभाग भाषान्तर ed *Prof K. K Shastri*	4 00
16	* Sacrifice in Rigveda by Prof K. R Potdar	15 00
17.	* वाग्व्यापार by Dr. Harivallabh C. Bhayani	8 50
18	* मदनमोहना by Shamala Bhat, ed. Dr H C. Bhayani	6.00
19	* सिंहासनबत्रीसी (Stories 18-22) by Shamala Bhat, ed Dr. H C Bhayani ..	8 00
20.	बेताळपचीसी by Shamala Bhat, ed A S Patel	8 00
21.	व्यवहारप्रकाश by Prithvichandra (from his पृथ्वीचन्द्रचरित्र) Part I, critically ed J. H. Dave	12 00
22	नरसिंह युगना कविओ by K M Munshi	3 00
23	* Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII--ed and translated into English with Critical Notes and Introduction by Prof H D Velankar	20 00
24	नंदबत्रीसी अने कनुरदंतनी वारता by Shamala Bhat, ed. Smt. Indira Merchant and Dr Ramesh Jani	10 00
25	* Deposed King Thibaw of Burma in India 1885 1916 by W S Desai ..	7 00
26	Syadvādamuktavalī or Jainaviseṣatarka and Bhāvasaptatikā by Śrī Yaśasvatsāgara, ed by Prof S A Upadhyaya	3 00
27	Vedanta Tattvaloka by Janārdana ed by Acharya T. A. V. Dikshitar, *Introduction in English by Prof S A. Upadhyaya and Preface in* Sanskrit by Acharya S Subrahmanya Sastri	8 00
28	The Brahma Sūtras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol I, by Dr. B N. K Sharma	35 00
29	Manu smṛti with nine commentaries by Medhatithi, Sarvajñanārāyana, Kullūka, Raghavananda, Nandana, Rāmacandra, Manirama, Govindarāja and Bhāruci, Vol *I (Adhyayas 1-2)*, ed by J. H. Dave	*40 00*
30.	Rksūktaśatī with important Padapātha, English Translation, Critical Notes, Select Glossary etc by Professor H D. Velankar; with an Introduction by Professor S A Upadhyaya	27.00
31	Bibliography of Theses in the Subject of Gujarati Language and Literature (upto 1970), compiled by Dr N. I Pandya .. .	1 50
32	The Brahma Sūtras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol. II, by Dr. B. N. K. Sharma	45 00
33	Manu Smriti, Vol II with nine commentaries (Adhyāyas 3 4) Ed by J H Dave	60 00
34	The Mahābharata—A Study of the Critical Edition (with special reference to the Suparnakhyāna of the Adiparvan) by Prof. Mahesh M. Mehta	12 00
35	Cultural Sources from the Veda by Dr. Sadashiv Ambadas Dange .	15 00
36	The Brahma-Sutras and their Principal Commentaries, Vol III by Dr B N K Sharma	120 00
37	Manu-Smriti, Vol III with nine Commentaries (Adhyayas 5-6) Ed by J. H Dave .	50 00

* Asterisked titles are out of print

Printed by V. Varadarajan at Associated Advertisers & Printers, 505, Tardeo Arthur Road, Bombay 400 034, and Published by S Ramakrishnan, Executive Secretary, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Kulapati K. M. Munshi Marg, Bombay-400 007.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A quarterly research organ of the Bhavan
on all subjects connected with Indian Culture

VOLUME XXXIX : No. 4
1979

Editors:

PROF. JAYANTKRISHNA H. DAVE, M.A., LL.B.
PROF. S. A. UPADHYAYA, M.A.



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY-400 007

Issued in January 1980

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

CONTENTS

PRACTICAL USE OF MĪMĀṀSĀ RULES IN THE FIELD OF DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA

By

P S SANE

The Mimāmsā is a Science of interpretation Primarily it consists of the principles of interpretation as applied to the ritual portion of the Vedas It helps us in interpreting the obscure passages in the Vedas Further, we find, these Mīmāmsā rules applied in the field of Dharma-Śāstra for interpreting the various rules laid down in the Smṛti-texts The importance of Mimāmsā in interpreting various rules laid down in Dharma-Śāstra texts can hardly be exaggerated Commentators on Smṛtis and writers of digests on Hindu Dharma-Śāstra like vijñānesvara, Medhātithi, Mitra Miśra, Nīlakaṇṭha and others have substantially relied on the Mīmāmsā for removing apparent contradictions and solving several knotty points in the Dharma-Śāstra-texts

With the use of these canons of interpretation from Mīmāmsā, mists of doubts and cobwebs of prejudices are cleared and the light of true meaning shines forth resplendant It is for these reasons that Yājñavalkya has stated Mīmāmsā as one of the fourteen sources of knowledge[1] A Mimāmsāka was regarded as an indispensable member of a Parisad by Manu (Manu III—3)

Vijñāneśvara the learned author of the well known commentary Mitākṣarā on the Yajñavalkya Smṛti was a great scholar of Mīmāmsā This is clear from the numerous references to the Mīmāmsā rules found in his commentary His work would be hardly intelligible to a reader who is not initiated in the Mīmāmsā

It is interesting to note that in the Mitāksara on the Prayaścittādhyāya of the Yāj Smṛti, we find as many as sixty five references to the Mīmāmsā-rules, while there are only eighteen such references in the Vyavahārādhyāya The reason for this is not far to seek. It appears to my mind, that the decisions in the law courts were to be given by the experts viz learned judges, assisted by a Parisad, which included a Mimāmsaka, while Prāyascitta was in many cases a self imposed affair Hence, it was probably thought that no doubt

1 पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिता ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ आचार 3

should be left as to the true meaning of the text, so that even a layman could expiate his sin by resorting to the appropriate Prāyaścitta

In the present article I propose to tackle two passages involving Mīmāmsā discussion, from the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara on the Prāyaścittādhyāya, with a view to showing the great influence exercised by the Mimāmsā on the minds of those, who had to interpret *the sacred, as well as, the secular law contained in the Smṛti* texts

The first passage deals with what is known as "Anupādeya pañcakam", while the second one deals with 'Prasanga' which is also a technical term from the Mimāmsā

In the beginning I have given, reference to the passage in the Text[2] where the Adhyāya, the verse, the number of the page, and the lines from Mītākṣarā selected for explanation are shown Then comes the rule on which the discussion is based

The rule is not stated in so many words by Vijñaneśvara himself It is implied in his discussion and is formulated by me

Next comes the literal translation of the passage For proper understanding of the translation, original words are given in brackets wherever it was felt necessary to do so Under Explanation, first comes the necessary context of the passage It is followed by the views of the opponent and the Siddhāntin Mīmamsā references are explained fully with quotations, where necessary Further, the application of the rule in the context is given with an eye to clarity

TOPIC 1

Rule लिङ्गादीनामनुपादेयत्वम ।

(*Reference* Prāyaścitta, v 6, Mitākṣara p 298, lines 9 & 10 From अत्र च 'सुराप्य इत्यादिपु to इत्यनुपादेयगतत्वात् ।)

Translation Here, the gender in Surapyah (those who drink liquor) etc, is not intended to be significant For, according to the statement, 'The experts in Mīmamsa declare that the gender, number, the place, the particular time and the fruit arising from a deed the set of these five is not intended to be stated (or is not significant)", it (gender) is included among (the five) things which are not significant.

Explanation Vijñāneśvara says that, in the verse under discussion, the gender of the word Surāpyah is not to be treated as signi-

2 The fourth edition of the Yajnavalkya Smṛti with Mitākṣara published in 1936 by the Nirṇaya Sagar Press is used while preparing this article

ficant If we do so, it would mean that the death-impurity has got to be observed in the case of a man, even if he is a drunkard Non-observance of death-impurity is stated only in the case of 'Women' who drink wine But this is not the intention. The gender here, is not significant, as the word ought to have some gender, the feminine gender is used Following the rule of Mīmāmsakas that Linga, Vacana etc the set of five things, is not to be treated as significant, i e construed strictly

In the modern jurisprudence also there are many occasions where a liberal as opposed to a literal construction of the wording of a section is considered justified by the context and the object of the statute, in other words 'the Sententia legis is preferred to the litera legis'.

The object of his verse of Yajñavalkya (Prā-6) is clearly to debar the drunkards and the persons who commit suicide from the sacred privileges, admissible to the dead, and the discrimination bet ween a male and a female of the species who are guilty of this lapse can hardly be acceptable to the social conscience and hence in order to give effect to the conscience of the society, that Vijñānesvara has relied on this Mīmāmsā rule

It may be further pointed out that in modern laws also, the pronoun 'He' is taken to include She', or sometimes it is so expressly provided as in section 8 of the Indian Penal Code 1860 Not only the gender but the 'number' is also held to be used comprehensively so that singular may include plural and vice versa (sec 9 I P C)

So what is meant is this Whosoever is addicted to wine, or whosoever commits suicide, is *irrespective of his gender* not entitled to be observed death impurity for, or to be offered libations of water to The point is (though it is not expressly mentioned by the author of Mitakṣarā) that the Linga etc are Anupādeya (i e non-significant), when they are used with reference to the Uddesya On the other hand when they are mentioned with reference to a Vidheya, they must be considered as significant In the present case, the non observance of impurity etc is the Vidheya and the Surapyah etc are the Uddesyas Therefore their Linga etc is insignificant

Anupādeyapañcakam as quoted in the Mitāksara is slightly different from the Anupādeyas that are mentioned in the Mīmāmsā works In them the following are mentioned as Anupadeyas देशकालनिमित्त फलसंस्कारा अननुष्ठेयत्वात् अनुपादेया । Jaiminiya Nyayamālā page (103)

---

3 पाखण्ड्यनाश्रिता स्तेना भर्तृघ्न्य कामगादिका ।
सुराप्य आत्म त्यागिन्यो नाशौचोदकभाजना ॥ याज्ञ स्मृ प्राय श्लो 6

Anupādeyatvam means Kṛtiavyāpyatvam Thus, an Anupādeya *thing is that, which cannot be made an object of an action or* which cannot be created Such things, therefore, cannot be enjoined by themselves, but they can be enjoined with reference to a thing, that can be an object of an action cf देशादीनामविधेयत्वेऽपि विहितकर्मणा सह तेषा सम्बन्धो विधीयताम् । *Jaiminiya Nyāyamālā, page 103*

To these five, mentioned above, sometimes Samkhyā like the Ekatva of Yajamāna and Jāti like Brāhmaṇya etc are also added

The author has mentioned Surāpyah and Atmatyāginyah alone, since in the case of the remaining five, the gender is not a source of doubt

The Nirnaya Sāgara edition contains a foot-note as follows 'इद पद्य 'क' 'ग' पुस्तकयोर्नास्ति । *There,* इद पद्यम्' *refers to the quotation* viz., लिङ्ग च वचन देश etc " Some editions do not contain this quotation They have the text as follows सुराप्य इत्यादिषु लिङ्गमविवक्षितम् —अनुपादेयगतत्वात् ।

TOPIC 2

Rule यत्र (एकस्मिन्नेव कर्तरि) गुरुलघुप्रायश्चित्तसपात तत्र गुरुप्रायश्चित्तात -पातिन लघुप्रायश्चित्तस्य प्रसङ्गात्कार्यसिद्धि ।

Reference Prāyascitta, v 243, Mitaksarā, p 388, lines 1 to 9 From यत्र पुन कस्मिश्चिद्ब्रह्मवधे To प्रायश्चित्तस्य कार्यसिद्धि ।)

Translation Where again there is a concurrence of heavy and light penances, when one, who has been guilty as an instigator in a certain Brahmana slaughter, acts as a perpetrator in another, as the lighter penance, relating to his having acted as an instigator, falls within (the period of) the heavier penance, lasting for twelve years and the like, it comes to be performed incidently (Prasangāt)

() And because this is so, it should not be supposed that, there being no difference (between the two processes), by following a lighter course, the achievement of greater also can be (possible) For, in the case (stated above), because of its falling within the other, at the performance (of the heavier penance), not knowing the peculiar nature (of the lighter penance incidentally performed) owing to its performance being incidental it is understood that the fulfilment of the purpose is achieved

((As a greater course of observance cannot fall within a lesser one, how can there be any doubt of incidental performance (of a greater course while the less one is being performed)"

Nor should it be asked, how by the performance, intended for the destruction of the sin, resulting from the murder of Caitra, can there be an absolution of the sin, arising out of the murder of Viṣṇu-Mitra Because, here, the reference to Caitra etc, is unimportant (Atantratvāt)

Therefore, just as, by the performance of 'Āgneya' and the like, either in response to an injunction, promising the reward desired for, or for securing heaven, here is the execution of a compulsory injunction, similarly achievement of the effect (i e performance) of a small penance also is (there)

Explanation In Pr Verse (243), Yajñāvalkya lays down a twelve years' penance, for one, who has killed a Brāhmana Vijñānesvara says that the instigator of such a murder, should observe the penance, for six years

Here, in the present passage, he discusses the case of a person, who has in him the combination of the sin of an instigator in killing one Brāhmana, and the sin of actually killing another Brāhmana For the former, a sinner has to undertake the observance of the vow for six years, and for the latter, he must perform twelve years' penance But as both the sins combine in one person here, the light penance, falling within the heavier one, becomes incidentally performed, in the course of the performance of the heavier one and therefore, it (i e the lighter penance) need not be separately performed

Objector's view

Just as the lighter one is incidentally performed during the course of the performance of the heavier one, why not following the same principle of submerging of one act within another, say that, while the lighter one is being performed the heavier one also becomes performed?

Answer to the objection

In the case of the lighter penance, its performance falls within the course of the performance of the heavier one Because of its being performed incidentally, its specially being performed does not become known Thus, accomplishment of its performance takes place automatically

Again the doubt that, the performance of a heavier penance can be accomplished by submerging it within the course of a lighter penance, cannot arise at all. Because the course of a bigger penance can never fall within the course of a smaller penance Incidental

performance is possible, only in the case of that act, which falls, within the course of another that is bigger one.

Objection

Supposing a man has actually killed 'Caitra' and the same is instrumental in the killing of another Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇumitra, how can the destruction of the sin, caused by Viṣṇumitra's killing, be removed by the performance of penance, undertaken to destroy the sin of killing Caitra?

Answer

The doubt is out of place. The penance undertaken is for killing a Brāhmaṇa The other penance also is for killing a Brāhmaṇa. The mention of Caitra or Viṣṇumitra is irrelevant. It does not matter whether Caitra is killed or Yajñadatta is killed, what matters is that a Brāhmaṇa is killed. Therefore, with the performance of twelve years' penance for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a smaller penance of six years, for instigating the killing of a Brāhmaṇa, becomes incidentally performed.

This incidental performance of smaller penance, is further illustrated by the performance of "Āgneyādi" sacrifices. The performance of 'Āgneya' and the like sacrifices is enjoined in the case of a person, who desires heaven or who entertains some other desire. Again, the same sacrifices are enjoined as compulsory for those, who are qualified. When a person proceeds to perform them for attaining heaven or achieving any other desire, he need not perform them again separately, as compulsory rites. Because their performance as compulsory rites is accomplished, while performing them with a desire for fruit.

The "Āgneyādiyāga" are six sacrifices, that constitute the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa sacrifices. These Darśa-Purṇamāsa sacrifices are both Kāmya and Nitya. For their 'Nityatva' Cf. "ताभ्या यावज्जीव यजेत । त्रिशतं वा वर्षाणि जीर्णो वा विरमेत् ।'Āpastamba' 14-11 to 13. Also, Cf. "यावज्जीव दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्या यजेत ।" Śābara on Jaimini, X-8-14, Page 2083. (A person, after he sets up the three fires, has to perform Darśa-Pūrnamāsa, throughout his life, till he becomes a Sannyāsin or for thirty years or till he becomes old).

Similarly, while performing a penance, extending over a greater period, the same penance, but extending over a smaller or equally long period becomes incidentally performed This is technically known as "Prasanga"

Distinction between "Tantra" and 'Prasanga"

(cf *Jaiminīya-nyāmālā*, XII-I-I).

"Tantra" is a single performance with reference to two things, while "Prasanga" is incidental performance of a thing, during the performance of another, which is undertaken, with a different object: cf. "उभयोद्देशेन सहदनुष्ठान तन्त्रम् ।अन्योद्देशेनान्यदीयस्यापि सहानुष्ठान प्रसङ्ग ।"

—Jaiminīya-nyāyamālā, page 666

Illustrations would clarify the difference between the two, in a better manner

A person, who has invited Brāhmanas more than one, lights a lamp and keeps it in the midst of them for the benefit of all of them Here, the lighting of a single lamp serves all the Brāhmanas hence it is "Tantra' One lamp serves the purpose of many simultaneously This lamp was meant for all the Brāhmanas, that were invited, it does not incidentally serve other Brāhmanas

In "Prasanga", the action is meant for one only, and incidentally serves the purpose of others A rich man lights a lamp in order to illuminate his hall If this same lamp incidentally throws its light on the street, and if it is lit, that is "Prasanga" The rich man had not lighted his lamp for illuminating the street, incidentally it became lit, by that act of his

Thus, in "Tantra" a single performance of an action is meant, simultaneously for all, while in 'Prasanga' it is meant for one particular thing, and incidentally, it serves the purpose of others This is the distinction between the two

It may be pointed out here that in putting this construction on this verse of Yāj Smṛti, Vijñānesvara has forseen and applied a well-known principle of modern criminal jurisprudence viz concurrent running of two or more punishments By special order, a court can direct the two sentences of imprisonment to be served simultaneously, so that a shorter sentence is taken to have been served along with the longer one

PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION OF ŚĀNTĀ, THE WIFE OF RSYAŚRNGA

By

MADHUSUDAN M. PATHAK

The episode of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is very famous It occurs in Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and several other Purāṇas

This sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is said to have married Śāntā, the daughter of king Romapāda It is narrated in the Viṣṇupurāṇa[1] that king Romapāda and Daśaratha were fast friends Romapada had no issue and hence his friend Daśaratha, the son of Aja gave his daughter Śāntā in adoption to him.

Dr R. C Hazra,[2] while discussing this passage of Viṣṇupurāṇa writes, "Similar confusion is found in the statement made in Viṣṇupurāṇa iv, 18.3, that king Daśaratha (son of Aja) of Ayodhyā gave his daughter Śāntā in adoption to the childless king Dasaratha (son of Citraratha) of Aṅga, who was also widely known under the name of Romapāda. From this statement it is evident that according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Śāntā was the daughter of Dasaratha of Ayodhyā. That this condition was clearly due to a traditional mistake based on a confusion between the two Daśrathas, who were contemporaries, is shown definitely by early epic and Purāṇic traditions recorded in the Mahābhārata (iii 110 26, 113 11, xii 233 34 xii. 137 25), Harivamśa (1 31 46), Vāyupurāṇa (99 103), Matsyapurāṇa (48.95), Brahmapurāna (13 40), etc, which give out Śāntā as the daughter of Romapāda of Anga As, in course of time, people became more and more ignorant of ancient Indian historical tradition and Daśratha of Ayodhyā attained a greater prominence through the Rama story, while his friend Romapāda dwindled into insignificance Śāntā who was well-known as the daughter of Daśratha (of Anga), came to be taken by a section of people to be the daughter of Daśratha of Ayodhyā who alone occupied their mind and memory through the Rāmāyana This confusion which was undoubtedly of North Indian origin, influenced the North Indian re-

1 अङ्गादनपानस्ततो दिविरथस्तस्माद्धर्मरथ । ततश्चित्ररथो रोमपादसंज्ञ । यस्य दशरथो मित्र अज । यस्या पुत्रो दशरथश्शान्तां नाम कन्यामनपत्यस्य दुहितृत्वे युयोज ।

Viṣṇupurana (Gita Press Edition) IV 18 15-18.

2 Hazra R C Intro to Viṣṇupurana, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, by Dr H. H Wilson, Punthi Pustak Calcutta-4 1961 p g

censions of the Rāmāyana, in which additions and changes were made in accordance with this new connection of Śāntā, although the name of Śāntā's mother occurs neither in any of these recensions nor in any other place It may be mentioned here that in the Bhāgavata-Purāna (ix 23 7-8) *also the same mistake has been made with regard* to Śāntā's parentage and it was on the basis of these statements of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and more particularly of those of the North-Western recension of the Rāmāyana that in Act I (verse 4) of his — Uttara-rāma-carita Bhavabhūti said

> *'Kanyāṃ daśaratho rājā Śāntām nāma vyajījanat*
> *apatyakṛtikām rājñe lomapāday yāṃ dadau"*

"King Daśratha (of Ayodhya) begot a daughter named Śāntā whom he gave in adoption to king Lomapāda"

In Act VI of the same work Bhavabhūti even quoted two verses from the said recension (and not from that of Bengal) with the express mention that these two verses occur in the concluding chapter of the Bāla-carita"

Before taking up the discussion of the issue proper it must be pointed out that Dr R C Hazra has given the reference of the parentage of Śāntā wrongly, i e to say he is wrongly quoting the reference of the Viṣṇupurāna [3] There he says that the reference occurs in *Viṣnupurāna iv, 18 3. But in the Viṣnupurāna, the reference* to the parentage of Śāntā occurs in iv 18 16,[4] (vide the trans of H H. Wilson)

As it mentioned by H H Wilson, the Bāla-kāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana which contains the episode of Ṛsyasṛnga, refers to the parentage of Śāntā.[5] Here Sumantra tells Dasratha, the king of Ayodhyā, "Your son-in-law Ṛsyasṛnga, will beget sons for you I have narrated the episode to this extent only as it was narrated by Sanatkumar to me"

This shows clearly that Rāmayaṇa here identifies the father of Śāntā with Dasratha, the king of Ayodhyā and as such the above *remark of H H. Wilson holds good Here Sumantra refers to* Ṛsya sṛnga as the son in law of Daśratha of Ayodhya.

3 Vide supra fn. 2.
4 Wilson H. H., The Viṣṇu Purana, a system of Hindu Mythology and tradition London, 1840 reprinted by Punthi Pustak Calcutta-4 1961 p 355
5 ऋष्यशृङ्गस्तु जामाता पुत्रांस्तव विधास्यति ।
सनत्कुमारकथितमेतावद्व्याहृतं मया ॥
Ramayana (Critical Edition Baroda) I 8 22.

This episode of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga ocrurs in Mahābhārata also There it is stated that Śāntā was the daughter of king Lomapāda.[6] This Lomapāda was the same as the king Rompāda of Anga[7] H H Wilson writes while explaining here, "This is noticed in the Rāmāyana, in the story of the hermit Rishyasringa, to whom Śāntā was given in marriage Her adoptive father is called in the Rāmāyana, as he is in the Agni and Matsya Lomapāda the meaning is the same, 'hairy foot'

The Bhāgavatapurāna also contains a reference to the parentage of Śāntā[8] In Bhāgavatapurāna IX. 23 7-8, it is stated that king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā gave his daughter Śāntā in adoption to his friend king Romapāda of Anga.

Thus R C Hazra's remarks are quite proper as far as these references in the Viṣnupurāna and Bhāgavatapurāna are concerned

In the prelude of his famous play Uttararamacarita, Bhavabhūti also refers to the parentage of Śāntā[9]

Here Bhavabhuti mentions that Śāntā was the daughter of king Daśaratha of Ayodhya and he gave her in adoption to king Romapāda

It seems that R C Hazra is right in his remark that Bhavabhūti follows Viṣnupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāna when he describes Śāntā as the daughter of king Dasaratha of Ayodhya.

Thus we get two sets of references one of which describes Śāntā as the daughter of king Dasaratha of Ayodhyā given to king Romapāda in adoption and the other group of references describes her as the daughter of king Romapāda

It seems that R C Hazra is quite right in his remark[10] that it was on the basis of these references of the North Western Recen sion of Valmiki Rāmayana, that the confusion regarding parentage of Śāntā occurred.

6. मृग्यां जातः स तेजस्वी काश्यपस्य सुतः प्रभुः ।
विषये लोमपादस्य यश्चकाराद्भुतं महत् ॥
निवर्तितेषु सस्येषु यस्मै शान्तां ददौ नृपः ।
लोमपादो दुहितरं सावित्रीं सविता यथा ॥
Mahabharata, (Gorakhpur Edition) III. 110 25 26.

7 H. H. Wilson, Viṣnupurana, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, London, 1840, reprinted by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta 4 p. 355 fn. 16.

8 सुतो धर्मरथो यस्य जज्ञे चित्ररथोऽप्रजाः ।
रोमपाद इति ख्यातस्तस्मै दशरथः सखा ॥
शान्तां स्वकन्यां प्रायच्छदृष्यशृङ्ग उवाह ताम् ।
Bhagavatapurana (Gita Press ed) ix, 23 7-8

9 कन्यां दशरथो राजा शान्तां नाम व्यजीजनत् ।
अपत्यकृतिकां राज्ञे रोमपादाय तां ददौ ॥
Uttararamacarita Act, 1 4.

10 Vide Supra p. 9

The fact that the Northern Recension of Rāmāyana contained such additions and some sort of anomalies can be very well realised in the following remarks of Prof G H Bhatt, General Editor of the Critical Edition of Rāmāyaṇa, and Editor of the Bālakāṇḍa. He writes in his introduction to the Bālakāṇḍa,[11] "A comparative study of N and S clearly shows that S has generally preserved the text of the R in an original or older form, while N has polished the text both from the view-point of form and matter"

The view of Prof G H Bhatt regarding the purity of the Southern recension of the Rāmāyana can be further corroborated by his opinion expressed in his introduction to the volume of Araṇyakāṇḍa.[12] "Antiquity of SR — It has again wonderfully preserved archaic forms to a greater extent and has thus maintained the older text of the Rāmāyana" Prof G H Bhatt quotes[13] Dr H Jacobi to support his view, 'Such a process was suggested by Dr Jacobi seventy years ago in his illuminating book Das Rāmāyana (Bonn 1893, pp 7-9) He designates the southern Recension as indicating that it is the Recension of the commentators, the Bengali Recension as B and the Western Recension (which is now known as North-Western Recension) as A (pp 2 3) He then compares them and comes to the conclusion which may be briefly summarised as follows

(1) The facts show that C has preserved the older text in certain cases and other Recensions have changed it with a purpose that can be definitely perceived It points to the assumption that the authors of the remaining Recensions had revised the text of C Schlegel's view that the changes are due to the whims and caprices of sentimental and fastidious persons does not appear to be sound on a closer examination. It may be true in a poem of moderate size but not in an epic of vast extent like the Rāmāyaṇa It may be assumed that at the time of the fixing of the Recensions the institution of the rhapsodists or professional reciters of the Rāmāyana extant till then was in a flourishing condition and the text orally preserved by them had the authority of MSS. The rhapsodists (Kāvyopjivinaḥ) were thus the real traditional preservers and proper originators of the Rāmāyana They also possessed the classical education of their time"

After this Prof G H Bhatt expresses his opinion[14] saying, "This view of Dr Jacobi is confirmed by a critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa

11 Balakāṇḍa, (Critical Edition) Introduction, p. xxxii Ed. Prof. G H Bhatt, Baroda 1960
12 Valmīki Rāmāyana Araṇyakāṇḍa (Critical Edition, Baroda) — Introduction by Prof G H. Bhatt, p xxvi, Baroda, 1963
13 Ibid., p. xxix.
14 Ibid. p. xxix

MSS The Editors of the Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana have consequently come to the conclusion that the SR is superior to the NR and that the SR should form the basis of the Critical text of the epic" As regards the parentage of Śāntā, the Critical text of the Balakanda of the Rāmāyana states that she was the daughter of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, as Sumantra, one of the ministers of the king describes Ṛsyaśṛnga as his son-in-law, in I 8 22 (vide fn 5) But the critical apparatus of the St. 21-22 of the same sarga of Bālakaṇḍa has a substitute passage[15] occurring in Ś1ÑVBD1—3 5 7, 9-13, M4. This substitute passage contains a reference to Śāntā as the daughter of king Lomapāda of Anga and not of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. Ṛsyaśṛnga is said here to be the son in-law of king Lomapāda The words 'Svakām duhitaram' in this passage are noteworthy This suggests that the recension followed by the above MSS. did believe in Śāntā's being the daughter of king Romapāda of Anga, as 'svakām duhitaram' evidently means 'his own daughter' and not a 'daughter by adoption'

Thus it appears that the opinion among these recensions of Rāmāyana was divided regarding the parentage of Śāntā, and at least one recension held the belief that she was the daughter of king Romapāda of Anga.

Now therefore the question arises as to how is it that Sumantra refers to Ṛsyaśṛnga as the son in-law of Daśaratha? To this question a probable explanation which can be given seems to me this, that king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and king Romapāda of Anga were quite bosom friends, and the son-in-law of any one of them can be considered as the son-in law of the other too Thus when viewed in this light the term 'Jāmātā' said about Ṛsyaṣṛnga by Sumantra while addressing to Daśaratha can be very easily explicable Śāntā eventhough she was the daughter of king Romapāda, was as good as a daughter for Daśaratha of Ayodhyā too, and as such it is safe to concur with the view of R C. Hazra that belief expressed in Viṣṇupurāna, about Śāntā's parentage was a confusion (vide Supra p 8)

15 तस्याभ्यागमनादेव मुनिपुत्रस्य धीमतः ।
तत्र स राजा विधिवच्छान्ता तस्मै प्रदास्यति ।
स्वकां दुहितरं भार्यां रूपेण गुणेन्विताम् ।
एष तस्य स जामाता भविष्यति महायशाः ।
लोमपादस्य राजर्षेऋष्यशृंग प्रतापवान् ॥
*289 L. 4 8 under I 8 22 of the Cri. Ed. of the Balakanda

MAXWELL'S DEMON IN UPANIṢADS

By

RAMAKRISHNA RAO VETURY

Apart from their religious appeal, the Upaniṣads make a fascinating reading from the epistemological point of view. They actually describe a cosmic view and as such they can be regarded as a book of knowledge Knowledge to be valid must be justified,[1] and the Upanisads abound in instances which clearly depict such painstaking efforts for justifying the conclusions that they present Some of them are so rigorous and systematic that they can stand comparison with a few instances in modern scientific thought One such example will be discussed below

Maxwell's method

Students of Thermodynamics are quite familiar with Maxwell's demon which carries out an experiment for Maxwell. The experiment is described by Maxwell as follows

"*If we conceive a being whose faculties are so sharp that he can follow every molecule in its course, such a being would be able to do what is at present impossible to us* We have seen that the molecules in a vessel full of gas at uniform temperature are moving with velocities by no means uniform though the mean velocity of any great number of them, arbitrarily selected, is almost exactly uniform (Maxwell's law of distribution of velocities)

Now let us suppose that such a vessel is divided into two portions A and B by a division in which there is a small hole, and that the ' demon", who can see the individual molecules, opens and closes this hole, so as to allow only the faster molecules to pass from A to B and only the slower ones to pass from B to A He will thus, without expenditure of work, raise the temperature of B and lower that of A in contradiction to the second law of thermodynamics Such a demon can also effect a separation of two gases mutually diffused without expenditure of work again in contradiction to the second law

Now, whatever results this demon may achieve by purely mechanical means may also be obtained by a sequence of suitable

1 A study of the book "Knowledge and Justification" by John L. Pollock, Princeton University Press, 1974 is worthwhile

molecular encounters with no external interference at all *The conclusion seems inevitable and in the light of this argument, the second law of thermodynamics cannot be applied to changes in a gas when they are observed in molecular detail This conclusion is quite legitimate,* because the second law does not hold for individual molecules but is a statistical law and has no meaning unless we deal with matter in bulk or in macroscopic state, involving a very large number of individuals"

It is not necessary for those not familiar with physics, to understand the full meaning of the above account It is enough if they grasp the sentences in italics in the above

The above experiment visualised by Maxwell to prove his point, may be called a theoretical experiment As described by Maxwell, it has all the trappings of a regular experiment We can almost see the demon sitting at the gate of the enclosure and carrying out the job as prescribed by Maxwell

Such theoretical experiments are helpful in proving propositions which are not by themselves capable of direct verification or proof

The Problem in Upanisads

Modern Science is considerably based on observation and experimental verification *Every civilisation develops its knowledge,* with the means at their disposal at the time In older civilisations, the method was observation and meditation (Here the word 'meditation' is used without its religious connotation It only means deep and concentrated intellectual exercise with undivided attention to a problem similar to "Dhyana' in yoga system In this sense we can say that Maxwell meditated and his demon is the product of this meditation) In such a case, for the philosophers of those days theoretical experiments were a powerful tool Evidence of this is found in the Upaniṣads One very good example attracts our attention. It is given in (1) Bṛhadāranyaka (6 1 7 to 13), (2) *Chāndogya* (5 1 6-12) and (3) Kauśitakī (2 14) & (3 3) Upaniṣads The experimental procedure is described in a picturesque detail in the first two Upanisads

This will be analysed in the following —

Problem

The human beings have a variety of faculties and normally function with those faculties Some of them are speech, the eye, the ear, the breath etc All these are called the vital breaths (Prāna) which

make for human activity The problem is to identify which is the most important of these that accounts for life

To solve the problem, a criterion is set 'The one (of the vital breaths) after whose going off, the body is thought to be worse off, is the most excellent" Now, how to decide this point!

Observation

The observational part is as follows The blind live a normal life except for sight The deaf cannot hear but otherwise they carry on Even the imbeciles do everything except that their mind is retarded and so on for various faculties But when one stops breathing, all his other faculties cease to function altogether and one is dead Even now we put a finger at the nose of a dead person to ascertain whether he is dead or not

Now this is not a good enough test to say that breath is the most important function in a human body, — not at any rate from a logician's point of view

So, based on the above observations, the philosophers of the time thought of a theoretical experiment to prove the supremacy of breath The experiment is described in both the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads on similar lines

The experiment

The story describes the issue as a fight between the various faculties for supremacy So each of these faculties decided to leave men for one year and find out after one year how they fared. One faculty will be described below fully as given in the Bṛhadāranyaka

'The eye went off Having remained away a year, it came back and said 'How have you been able to live without me?' "

They said 'As the blind not seeing with the eye, but breathing, speaking with speech, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind, procreating with semen. Thus we have lived' The eye entered in

The eye faculty realised that what all can happen without it is one defect but otherwise a normal life for the person

Now it is idle to question how the eye can go and come back. If we could swallow Maxwell's demon and build a whole structure of modern science on it, there is no reason why we should question the possibility of the eye leaving and coming What is more important is to see that reasonable time of one year is allowed for reliable observations for each experiment The above experiment has

been repeated for each faculty, one by one, for one year The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad describes in the following order (1) Speech, (2) The eye, (3) Ear, (4) Mind, (5) Semen and finally and (6) The breath.

The description for breath is as follows

"Then Breath was about to go off As a large fine horse of the Indus-land might pull up the pegs of his foot-tethers together, thus indeed did it pull up these vital breaths together They said 'Sir, go not off! Verily, we shall not be able to live without you".

So all the faculties acknowledged the supremacy of breath, as the most fundamental for life Thus the point is proved

The Chāndogya-Upanisad describes similarly for the faculties listed below

(1) Speech, (2) Eye, (3) Ear, (4) Mind and (5) Breath

It is worthwhile noting that this Upanisad neglects semen (justifiably) The results are the same

The Kauśitakī Upanisad slightly modifies the experiment (2, 14) Here all the faculties leave the body at once "It (body) lay, not breathing, dry, become like a piece of wood"

"Then speech entered it It just lay speaking with speech"

"Then the eye entered it It just lay speaking with speech (and) seeing with the eye"

And so on for others, including the ear, and mind.

Finally breath (prāna) entered it "There upon indeed it rose," again proving the supremacy of breath

This method has one advantage over the earlier method. One does not have to wait for one year to study the effect of an operation Also it includes observations on people with multiple defects, like deaf-dumb-mute, etc

All the three methods are also fine examples of the principle of study in isolation, which is an important aspect of modern science When there is a plurality of parameters for study, each one has to be studied keeping the others unchanged.

The final results are summarised in Kausitaki Upaniṣad simply in terms of original observations in the following words (3 3)

"One lives with speech gone, for we see the dumb, one lives with eye gone, for we see the blind, one lives with ear gone for we

see the deaf, one lives with mind gone, for we see the childish, one lives with the arms cut off, one lives with the legs cut off, for thus we see But now it is the breathing spirit (prāna) , that seizes hold of and animates this body".

Conclusions

The final conclusion of the supremacy of the breath is linked up simply with the original observation through a series of theoretical experiments which establish on a firm basis what has been intuitively arrived at on the basis of naturrl observations This process of justifying an intuitive answer to a problem, can be called the Validation' after Michael Polyani Such instances of validation are not rare in modern sciences Polyani, in his book ' Personal knowledge" (The university of Chicago Press 1958, page 131) quotes from G Polya in the foot notes "When you have satisfied yourself that the theorem is true, you start proving it" On the same page he mentions examples of Arechimedes and Gauss also

Polyani (*Loc cit* p 121) quotes from H Poincare four stages of Heuristics in modern science, particuarly mathematics 1 Preparation, 2 Incubation, 3 Illumination and 4 Verification These four stages may be identified in the above example from the Upanisads as follows

1 Preparation — observations
2 Incubation — meditation
3 Illumination — intuitive answer
4 Verification — the experiment described above

This example also suggests another possibility The philosophers of the times were not content with inductive reasoning for arriving at conclusions If hundred crows are observed to be black, it is not adequate to prove that all crows are black for we do not know about the 101 crow If a 100 blind men are seen to be otherwise alright, it is not equally possible to generalise But as it is not possible actually to physically make a man blind and see the effects (the law does not permit experimental guinea pigs of humans) what could be thought of was only a theoretical experiment to enable them to come to a conclusion based on observations The significant part of this is that the Upanisads have made an extensive use of the observations of the phenomenal world within the means available to them to build up a super structure of a cosmic formula [2]

2 The quotations from the Upanisads given above are all taken from The Thirteen Principal Upanisads", translated by Robert Ernest Hume second edition (Oxford University Press 1931) Maxwell s account is given in any text book of Heat & Thermodynamics for physics students.

ANNAM PARAM BRAHMA

(FOOD IS SUPREME BRAHMAN)

By

P. M. UPADHYE

Since Man has touched the soil of this world there has been an endless search and hunt for the sake of food In the history of human life, hunger of food is the chief primary necessity for which all human efforts are directed to achieve this goal This is irrespective of primitive stage and civilized stage and food occupies very important place in the life of human and non-human beings This is precisely so because without food, life itself is impossible The non-human beings, especially animals, wild or domestic, hunt out their food in the world and nature too helps them in getting food for sustaining their life

In the primitive stage, human beings also relied mostly on nature for food but later on, as the civilization advanced from stone age onwards, human beings started moving towards the river bed side and tried their utmost to procure food by cultivating lands and growing gardens and vegetables and catching fish etc When fire was invented, it was a boon to the human beings because they could cook the food and live peacefully

It is a well known fact that there were tribal feuds or wars either for the sake of fertile land-viz. for food and for the sake of women-viz for sex life in the history of the world without any exception.

The importance of food has been realised by the Vedic and post Vedic seers so much so that the entire Vedic civilization and culture fully rested on 'food' The Vedic people asked for good food and progeny and for that purpose, they performed sacrifices in which Indra-Agni and other deities were invoked and praised so that they would grant food and progeny to the sacrificers

Food, being the first and foremost necessity of human life, has been praised in glowing terms in the Vedic as well as post Vedic literature Some of the examples are given below [1]

(1) Annam hi prāṇah — Aitareye Brāhmana (VII-13)
Food is the vital breath viz life

---

1 For other references see Rv 10-117-3b Rv 2 24-12 d. Jai Br 1-140 etc. also see Vedic concordance by M. Bloomfield.

(2) Annaṁ ha vai vājah — (Taittirīya Br. 13.9.13).
Food is a nourishing material.

(3) Annaṁ va āyatanaṁ — Śatapatha Br. 7-5.
Food is the place (house) (abode).

Apart from these stray sentences in the Vedic books in praise of food, the Ṛgveda also contains Annastuti[2] and annasūkta.[3] These Vedic references symbolise the following ideas about food.

(a) Food is the life. (b) Food is pleasure giving and unparalleled friend. (c) Food is the nourishment. (d) Food is beauty and importance-donar. (e) Food is called youth-giver. (f) Food is the cause of re-production of beings. (g) Food is Brahman. (h) From food alone beings grow and in it they become dissolved.[4] Even Jñāneśvara, a great saint of Maharashtra considered anna-food as form of Brahma and also the cause of life.[5] The Manusmriti says that from rain, food springs up and then follow the beings.[6] The Gītā too proclaims that beings arise out of food.[7] An act of eating food should not be looked upon as merely belly filling but it should be considered as a sacrificial act — (yajña-karma). All these references indicate how food is highly valued by the ancient Indian seers. Their concept of food is indeed divine and food is viewed from this divine angle. In the past food was the most essential factor in human life as it is viewed today.

The Primitive Man depended totally on natural food but in course of time the civilised man started producing his food with natural resources like water, fertile fields, and with help of implement like ploughs drawn by cows, bulls and asses, etc. This was indeed a great land mark in the human history with reference to food.

Food was well protected and also stored for future needs in the past and this is testified by the achaeological findings in different parts of India in which burnt particles of food-grains were noticed.

The word 'anna' is defined as that which is eaten. It is four fold[8] viz. (1) bhakṣya that which is eaten (2) peya-that which is drunk (3) lehya-that which is licked and (4) coṣya — which is sucked, food-taste or Annarasa is six fold — madhura-sweet, āmla-sour, kṣāra-salty, kaṭu-bitter, kaṣāya astringent — Tikta pungent or hot.[8a] This description of food either in the books on medicine

2 Rg. 1-187.
3. 4-31-1.
4. See the word 'annam' in the Vedic concordance by M. Bloomfield.
5 Jñāneśvari — 3-133.
6. Manusmriti — 3-76.
7. Gitā — 3-14.
8. See Bg. Gita XV —
8a. Bg. Gita — 17-9.

like Caraka samhitā or in the philosophical books like Gītā etc will reveal the succint knowledge of food in the past The food is the saviour of life if properly used and digested The proper balance of food is to develop healthy body and healthy mind The proper balance of food can be brought about by using all natural sources of food such as roots, leaves, fruits and flowers, milk and milk products, cereals, rice wheat other kinds of corn, gram, sugar-cane, sugar and gur, honey fish and animals — their flesh etc No where excess is allowed, otherwise, it is said 'annam mṛtuh ' For food, all natural resources are tapped and India being an agriculture country, agriculture occupies the predominant place for the sake of food The land if properly cultivated, can yield better crops, fruits, leaves roots etc which constitute the very food-material Therefore it is essential to tap and use all resources especially agriculture resources for making the country full of resources self sufficient in food Hence the agriculture sector cannot be neglected

Along with food the earth should also be taken into account The earth is considered as 'Earth Goddess' — 'Prithvi-devatā' There is one hymn[9] on Earth in the Ṛgveda The Atharvaveda gives a graphic but beautiful description of the earth [10] It says 'May the earth who bears manifold treasures grant me gold and jewels, wealth, etc The Prithvi is that one which expands — 'prathate vistāram yati — sā prithvī.' The earth is designated in various words which signify her nature She is supporter of the universe (Visvambhara), bearer of wealth (Vasudhā) mother goddess — (Matṛdevatā), possessor of many jewels (bahuratnā)

It is mentioned in the Bhāgavatā Purāna[11] that king Prthu milched the earth for the purpose of food and (medicine) herbs As said earlier earth cannot be separated from food, food is to be created from and in the earth, hence earth goddess was highly valued and praised in the past

In the Indus valley civilization, the earth was considered as the goddess by the people of the Indus Valley, even the Vedic people too regarded the earth as the goddess The entire Vedic culture had the agriculture as the basis and pastoral back ground of the Vedic age will also testify to this fact

In connection of food, food distribution or anna-dāna should also be considered – Annadāna is valued as a virtue, piety is virtue The Bhikṣusūkta praises the gift of food, etc in glowing terms [12] It

9 Rg 1-191-6.
10 AV 12-1-44.
11 Bha Pura 4-18 Viṣnu Pu. 1-13 etc
12 Rg X-117

says, 'He who gives the hungry one does not lose anything, but he who does not give, suffers from lack of support.[13] He is not a friend who does not give food to the friends and faithful ally[14] He who eats all alone, shares misfortunes also all alone.[15] Even the Gītā says that he who does not give to others such enjoyments obtained through sacrifices, etc. is indeed a thief[16] In India, all religions without exception, advocate charity of food, which will bring about merit to a man[17] The spirit behind this principle is that one does not live for oneself but also for others, in a way, an individual life is subordinate to social life, that constitutes the very essence of democracy To feed a guest is also a virtue. In India all the festivals, nay all religious and social festivals, are directly connected with food We will hardly come across any ritual or sacrament or festival without reference to food Food is freely distributed to Brahmins, beggars and the needy people. This is quite unique in Indian Culture

It will not be out of place to mention the practice of 'anna kūṭa' — in which many sweet meats of various kinds and other food items are placed before the idol of Kṛṣṇa on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of Kārtika month It is a symbol of worship of the Govardhana mountain which is also called 'annakuṭa[18] Such is the importance of food which is equated with supreme Brahma annam —param Brahma

Out of 5 sheaths or Kośas in a human body one of them is 'annamayakosa', due to which gross body is maintained.[19] Anna or food represents the lowest form in which the supreme soul is manifested

Thus this brief survey of the concept of food in ancient India will reveal that food was considered as the primary necessity as well as life force by the ancient Indians It has a vital role to play in Indian economic-religious political life even this day Agriculture is the very soul of food in India and food being the most essential thing for human as well as non human life, agriculture sector should not be neglected In fact agriculture alone will bring about the prosperity of India That is why late Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Minister of India gave a new slogan to the nation 'Jai Jawan-Jai Kiṣan' and here lies the spirit of India

13 Rg X-117-1-2.
14 Rg. X X-117-4.
15 Rg X-117-6.
16 Gita 3-12.
17 annadanat paraṁ dānam . ..
18 See Bhāratiya Samskriti kośa — Vol I page 155
19 Tai. Up. 2/5.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT GUJARAT

By

K. B VYAS

Any study of the system of education in ancient and mediaeval Gujarat is bound to be handicapped by the lack of adequate material on the subject in the historical and literary records of this period. There was no tradition of writing social histories, or even political histories in early India All that we can do is to glean references to education and learning scattered over the vast expanse of early literature, inscriptions, and other records, and piece them together to create a reasonable coherent picture

These works seldom refer to any system of primary or elementary education in ancient Gujarat But we do have elaborate description of the famous seats of learning, of celebrated scholars and men of letters, of philosophers and dialecticians of artists, architects and sculptors We also come across references to their literary, scholastic and artistic achievements These references, when pieced together, give an idea of the system of higher learning which prevailed then. It will correspond to the present system of university education in India and abroad

We come across, incidentally, a few details of elementary, popular education, which must have formed the basis of higher education Thus, the study of the educational systems in early Gujarat becomes essentially a study of the successive phases of the renaissance of learning in early Gujarat In order to comprehend the renaissance in the Caulukyan period during the reigns of Siddharāja of legendary fame, and his equally illustrious successor Kumārapāla, and an equally glorious renaissance in the Vāghela period, initiated and presided over by the scholar-minister Vastupāla, it is necessary first to get acquainted with the earlier renaissance during the rule of the Maitrakas of Valabhi so as to have a proper perspective Similarly, we will have occasion to describe the conditions that prevailed in the period following the conquest of Gujarat by Muslims, when the earlier traditions started acquiring the later mediaeval mould, which persisted almost up to the advent of the British

---

1 Being the third article in the series of research papers on Indology prepared under the auspices of the Springer Research Scholarship Endowment of the Bombay University

What is known as Gujarat today dates as a political and cultural entity from the time of the Caulukyas, i e , from c *10th century* A D In the still earlier period — the Purāṇic and ancient period — Gujarāt proper, from the north of the river Mahi was known as Ānarta, Kāṭhiāwād (now known as Saurāṣṭra), was known by the name of Surāṣṭra, while the southern region, to the south of the rivers Mahi and Narmadā was known as Lāṭa

The cultural tradition of this region, however, is as old as the earliest *Purāṇas, for, Girinagara, Prabhāsa and Dvārka in Saurāṣṭra* Ānandanagara in Ānarta, Bhṛgukaccha and Stambhatīrtha in Laṭa, are mentioned as celebrated centres of learning in the *Purānas* as well as in the Jaina canons Prabhāsa and Bhṛgukaccha were also known as great emporia of international trade and *commerce* and had therefore absorbed foreign influences to a remarkable extent

We will limit ourselves, however, only to the historical times, and particularly to the two distinct epochs of the glory of Gujarat — the Maitraka period, and the Caulukya and Vāghelā periods which form a continuous cultural epoch, emphasizing the conditions that prevailed in these periods

Girinagara seems to be a famous centre of Brahmanical *culture* in the historical times as well, as attested by the three celebrated inscriptions spanning well over half a millennium — the *rock-edicts* of Asoka written in the western Prakrt speech of the period the inscription of the local Śaka-Kṣatrapa Rudradaman *written* in Sanskrit in ornate classical epic style, and the elegant Sanskrit Prasasti of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta *These inscriptions* presuppose a flourishing centre of learning and culture at Giri*nagara There must have been similar centres of learning in Pra*bhāsa and Dvārkā in Saurāṣṭra and Ānandnagara in North Gujarat *as* well

But as we move later in history, we come across copious evidence of an outstanding University centre of learning at *Valabhi* (modern Valā in the Bhāvnagar district) in the time of the Maitrakas It ranked so high in Buddhist learning that the *great* Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang compared it with the world famous University of Nālanda It accommodated hundreds of *Sanghārāmas* where no less than 6000 Buddhist bhikkhus studied Buddhist canons It was here that the great teachers *Guṇāmati and Sthiramati* composed their works Chwang's junior contemporary I tsing compares *the University of Valabhi with most celebrated University centres* in China Besides being famous for teaching Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist philosophy, Valabhi Vidyāpiṭha was also known as a great centre of Brāhmanical lore and Jaina learning

The system of teaching was as follows At the age of about 5 years or so a child was imparted the knowledge of alphabets in the schools of 'lipividyā' (लिपिविद्या). Then, after the '*upanayana*' ceremony, the student at the age of 7 or 8 years started learning 'Śabdavidyā' or grammar, which began with learning the Pāṇinian sūtras by heart, followed by learning the dhātupāṭhas, Khilatraya or morphological sūtras, and the Vṛtti or commentary on Pāṇinian sūtras Students, desirous of having advanced knowledge of grammar then started learning Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini and Bhartṛhari's Vṛtti on Patañjali, and his other treatises like 'Vākyapadīya'.

After mastering grammar, students turned to the study of literary classics They include Bhāravi, Māgha, Kumāradāsa, and the works of Bāṇa, Mayūra and Amaru The composition of Bhaṭṭikāvya has been a typical product of the Maitraka age The influence of Sanskrit classical poetry is distinctly noticeable in the language and style of the Maitraka inscriptions

Having mastered grammar, students turned to Logic, Astronomy, Medicine, Architecture (śilpavidyā) and fine arts (kalā) Brāhmana students studied the Vedas They would start studying a Vedic saṁhitā — some families had a tradition of studying more than one Saṁhitās — at the age of 7 or 8 years, alongwith their study of the rudiments of Pāṇinian grammar Initially, they just learnt the correct recitation of Saṁhitā with proper intonation and then at a later stage tried to comprehend the bhāṣya The study of the Maitrāyaṇi Śākhā of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and the Vajasaneyī Śākhā of Śukla Yajurveda was more in vogue in Gujarat Sāmaveda, and the science of music (gāndharvavidyā) pertaining to it, was also studied

The Buddhist students preferred to study Tripiṭaka (consisting of Vinayapiṭaka, Suttapiṭaka, and Abhidhammapiṭaka), instead of the Vedas In the Gujarat of the Maitraka age Hīnayāna was more prevalent As testified by I-tsing, the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva and Asanga and Vasubandhu were assiduously studied The well-known teachers Guṇamati and Sthiramati have written their famous works in this period in Surāṣṭra

Buddhist students also favoured the study of Nyāya or logic They studied with care the works of Diṅnāga and Vasubandhu Valabhi University was celebrated for a specialised study of Buddhist logic (nyāyavidyā)

Valabhi was equally well-known for Jaina learning Nāgārjuna set the āgamic text in Valabhi about 300 A D About a century and a half later (in 454 A.D) Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramana

again reset the Āgama text in Valabhi, which is now followed by Śvetāmbara Jainas all over India. Scholars like Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramana wrote Bhāṣyas on Jaina āgamas, commentators like Jinadāsagani Mahattara wrote *Cūrnis thereon*, while distinguished philosophers like Haribhadrasūri wrote Vṛttis on them

Administration of justice required a deep knowledge of the '*smṛtis*' comprising of Śrautasūtra, *Gṛhyasūtra*, *Dharmasutra* and Dharmaśāstras The priests studied the former two, but the rest — Kings and administrators of justice in particular — preferred to study Dharmasāstra, especially 'Manusmṛti' Probably 'Kāmandakīya Nītisāra' and the relevant portions of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, which deal with Hindu polity, were also studied as necessary equipment for judicial administration.

For princes there were also special courses of study equipping them for their duties as rulers The study of Dhanurveda and Śastravidyā was essential for them. The detailed description of the *prince's school, in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, instituted for the education* of Candrāpīḍa, gives an idea how this must have been done

For the Vaisyas the study of Vārtā — i e, commerce, agriculture and *animal husbandry (pasupālana) — was prescribed* Though no works in these subjects have come down to us we learn from references scattered here and there in works like Varāhamihira's 'Bṛhatsamhitā' that the science of architecture (Vāstuvidyā) and sculpture was quite well-developed then, as attested by the various architectural monuments and sculptural remains of this period. The science of metallurgy, of assessment of jewels, and crafts like carpentry, smithy and other handicrafts were also quite well developed.

Fine arts like music and dancing (gīta-vādya-nṛtya) are referred to more than once in the works of this period which indicates that arrangements existed for a specialised training in them

The well-known centres of learning in the Gujarat of the Maitraka period were, as mentioned earlier, Valabhi, Ānandanagara (modern Vadnagar), Kheṭaka (mod. Kairā), Girinagar, Bhṛgukaccha and Simhapur (mod Sihor) Of these, Valabhi was the most famous as a seat of learning It is noted in the Kathāsaritsāgara, an abridgement of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, that a young Brahmin student Viṣnudatta travelled to Valabhi from as distant a place as Antarvedi in search of higher learning There was very keen competition among the aspirants for admission to the Valabhi University It specialised in the study of grammar (śabdavidyā), logic (nyāya), and abhidharma (Buddhist lore), but it also taught with distinction the science of architecture and medicine That great

works like Bhaṭṭikāvya (a unique dual exercise in grammar and epic composition) and Nayacakra of Mallavādi (a distinguished treatise in logic) are evidences of the heights allained in education in these fields.

These institutions also catered to the requirements of local students, who were yet to qualify for admission to the University and were acquiring just rudiments in the sciences of their choice There was also provision for women-students in some of the 'vihāras' Probably, they were mostly, 'bhikkhunis' or nuns

This great centre of learning was destroyed when Valabhi fell to the Muslim onslaught in 845 A D.[2]

Thus ended a glorious chapter in the cultural renaissance of ancient Gujarat

From the ashes of Valabhi arose, a century later, Anahilvād, which soon became the heart of political and cultural Gujarat During this intervening period Śrimāla or Bhinnamāla, adjoining to the Northern border of Gujarat, became a sort of cultural capital of Gujarat. It was indeed the capital of Gurjaras from the 8th century A D till about the middle of the 12th century A D It was destroyed by Ulughkhan the commander of the Muslim army of Allauddin Khalji early in the 14th century A D A graphic account of this sacrilege has been preserved in the '*Kāhnaḍade Prabandha*' (Khaṇḍa III) According to the 'Prabhāvakacarita' and 'Śrimālapurāna' Śrimāla or Bhinnamāla was a prosperous city throbbing with religious and cultural activities, with a thousand Brahmaśalās (schools of Brahmanical learning) and four thousand maṭhas (seats of Brahmanical philosophical studies) That this was not just a myth but an actual historical fact is proved by the description of the town in Padmanābha's famous mediaeval epic poem 'Kāhnaḍade Prabandha' (III 22-28), where he says that "forty five thousand Brahmins resided in Bhinnamāla — like gods in their resplendence — living a life of purity, austerity and learning They had learnt all the four Vedas with the Vedāngas and had mastered all eight systems of grammar They professed fourteen sciences (vidyas), eighteen Purānas, medicine music, astronomy, prosody, dramatics, and other subjects They maintained *agnihotra* in every home They knew the intricacies of Smṛti (Dharmasastra) They never failed to perform the Brahmanical religious rites Sacrifices were performed there every day To meet them was a purifying experience They were like the eighty-eight thousand Purānic ṛṣis reborn in this age"

2 According to विविधतीर्थकल्प Valabhi was destroyed in 789 A D

It is not surprising that this seat of Brahmanical scholarship produced great poets like Magha and astronomers like Brahma gupta In spite of Yuan Chwang's testimony that Buddhism also flourished in Śrīmāla, in the absence of any important Buddhist work found to have been composed there, we can conclude that it occupied only a minor role there

But Jainism and Jain learning did flourish there alongside Brahmanical lore Siddharṣi's 'Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā' saw its conclusion in this place Siddharṣi mentions with respect Haribhadra sūri, the well-known Jain philosopher who had composed the philo sophical treatise '*Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*', a Prakrit *dharmakathī* 'Samarāiccakahā', a satirical Kathā 'Dhūrtakhyāna' and several other works In the nearby Jhalore Udyotanasuri composed 'Kuva layamālā'

Śrīmāla or Bhinnamāla was thus the heart of the culture of Gujarat, before Anahilvād was founded Then, during probably the 10th and the 11th centuries A D there was an exodus from Śrimāla to the neighbouring regions and to Anahilvād, in particular, and Śri mali Brahmins and Banias and Porvad Banias, Śrimāli sonis and several artisan castes migrated to Anahilavād much in the same way as traders and business men moved from Surat to Bombay under the pressure from Marathā marauders

Anahilvāḍ was founded by a Chāvdā chieftain Vanaraj on the banks of the Sarasvati river in V S 802 But it was only during the reign of Mūlarājdeva Solanki who succeeded the last dissolute Chavda chief Sāmantsinh, that Anahilvād started acquiring increasingly greater importance As the Caulukya kingdom gradually expanded Anahilvād assumed greater political and cultural importance and be- came a famous seat of learning and culture in the time of Jaya simhadeva Solanki, immortalized in tradition as Siddharāja, and his illustrious successor Kumārapāla. Its political eminence could be gauged from its extent too, for, in Kumārapala's reign Gujarāt held under its sway the adjoining land of Konkan, and regions of Rājas thān, Cutch, Saurāṣṭra and Mālva This was the heyday of the glory of Gujarat

After a short spell of political uncertainty and weakness during the reigns of Kumārapala's successors, Gujarat again grew much in political stature and vastly in cultural eminence during the Vāghelā rule, particularly under the aegis of the unique scholar-minister Vastupal

There was a spurt in the pursuit of learning during the period and Gujarat saw a galaxy of poets, scholars, philosophers dialecti

cians, astronomers, crowding the period, the like of which it had never seen before This period was coincident with a parallel renaissance in the neighbouring region of Dhārā under the aegis of kings like Muñja and Bhoja of traditional fame Even in the history of the entire Āryāvarta such periods have come only after very long intervals, as, for instance, during the reigns of Gupta emperors Candragupta and Samudragupta there was a great renaissance of Sanskrit learning, which again reappeared in full glory in the time of the Maukhari emperor Harṣa

The Caulukya renaissance started during the reign of Mūlarājadeva, the founder of the Caulukyan dynasty in Gujarat. Alongside the battles he fought and conquests he made, he also built the famous temple of Rudramahālaya in Siddhapur, the first great monument of the Caulukyan period, invited learned Brahmin scholars from the North Indian centres of learning and settled them in Gujarat He, thus, laid the foundation of a glorious cultural renaissance, which saw unprecedented heights in the reigns of his two great successors, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla The presiding genius of this unique movement was Ācārya Hemacandra, whose colossal learning, great originality and versatility had earned him the epithet 'Kalikāla sarvajña' A Jain pontiff himself, he composed, besides Jain religious and philosophical works, a memorable treatise on grammar (Siddha Hemacandra Śabdānuśāsana) prepared at the instance of King Siddharāja, standard works on prosody and poetics ('Chandonuśasana and 'Kāvyānusasana') a historical mahakāvya (Dvyaśraya) describing the Caulukya dynasty on the pattern of Bhaṭṭi kāvya, a Sanskrit lexicographical work (Abhidhāna Cintāmani) a Prakrit lexicon (Desināmamala) a work on Botanical terms, Nighanṭusesa), and numerous stavanas or devotional poems

Though Siddharāja was a Śaivite himself he had boundless respect for Hemacandra. His magnanimous patronage was responsible in no small measure for the wide publicity that Hemacandra's learned works received

Hemacandra had a large circle of able disciples who were themselves great poets scholars and philosophers (dārsanikas) Among them stand out Rāmacandra famous for his numerous dramas and a noteworthy treatise on dramatics (Naṭyadarpana), and Gunacandra, Mahendrasuri, Devacandra and Yasascandra Other luminaries also illumined this period — the blind poet Śripala who wrote a prasasti kāvya to celebrate Siddharāja's construction of the Sahasralinga lake and another praśasti, which is now placed in the fort of Vadnagar, Śripāla's son Siddhapāla a poet of note Somaprabacarya the author of the Prakrt work 'Kumārapālapratibodha' Vagbhata the author of

the celebrated work on poetics, 'Vāgbhaṭālankāra', Prahlādanadeva, the writer of 'Pārthaparākramavyāyoga', Yaśahpāla, the author of 'Moharājaparājaya', Ācarya Malayagiri, the well-known commentator on Jaina āgamas, Pūrnabhadra, the author of 'Pañcākhyāna', an ornate version of the collection of the world-famous fables of the 'Pañcatantra'

In literary records of this period we get glimpses of the system of education prevailing in this period It does not seem to differ materially from the earlier period in its pattern According to the commentator on Hemacandra's 'Dvyāsrayakāvya' the Sahasralinga lake was surrounded by 1008 Śiva temples and 108 temples of goddess (Durgā), and innumerable Satrasālās, teaching a variety of subjects, and maṭhas, where teachers and students used to reside and board free of charge. They studied there Trividyā (Vārtā, Kṛṣi and Vānijya), the Vedas, polity, logic, grammar and literature, six Vedangas, mimansa or sacrificial lore, medicine, Smṛtis, and dharma śāstra, and even Carvāka philosophy Verily, the Sahasralinga lake must be looking like a vast University campus All religions flourished side by side, and there was provision for all systems of philosophy including the Buddhist philosophy and its system of logic. There were other similar centres of learning at Broach, Prabhāsa, Śuklatirtha, Modhera, Cambay, Candrāvati, Vaḍnagar, Siddhapura, Vardhamānapura, Darbhāvatī, and Vaṭapadra

There is evidence to indicate that in Aṇahilvād and other larger towns on festive occasions Sanskrit dramas were staged in the temples before vast audiences Usually this was done at the instance of a king or a high dignitary or a business magnate Thus 'Karnasundarī Nātikā' composed by Bilhana was staged in the Ādinath temple at Pātan by the orders of Śantu Mehtā a Caulukya minister This presupposes an adequate knowledge of Sanskṛt and Prakṛt among the audiences This could not have been possible unless there was provision for learning Sanskṛt in Paṭhasālas

The next epoch — the period of Vaghela rule in Gujarat — is, in essence, a continuation of the glorious Caulukyan renaissance If Hemacandra was the presiding spirit of the Caulukyan renaissance, Vastupāla, the scholar minister of the Vāghelā kings was the guardian angel of the renaissance of this later period. Under his patronage, flourished a host of poets, scholars, and philosophers, architects and sculptors who lent unique glory to this age Vastupāla's boundless munificence attracted a host of scholars. Thus poets of distinction like Someśvara, Bālacandra, Arisimha Amaracandra sūri, gathered around him, and made great contribution to Sanskrit learning and literature Vastupāla's craze for building temples and

monuments, attracted architects and sculptors from all over Gujarat It is recorded that besides Jain temples he built a number of Śiva temples and established hospitals (rugnālayas), Brahmanical schools (brahmaśālās), and maṭhas (or places of residence for sanyāsins) The temples at Girnar and Ābu — particularly those at Mt Abu — built by Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla, are lasting monuments of great architectural beauty, unsurpassed in the annals of mediaeval Indian architecture The sculptured figures are so delicate and fresh that they transport you to a fairy-land of dreams Fabulous amount of money — over twelve crores of rupees — was spent on the temples at Ābu alone and an almost equal amount was spent at Girnār

As described earlier, the munificence of Vastupāla attracted a host of eminent scholars and poets and earned him the epithet 'laghu Bhojarāja'. Himself a scholar and a poet of repute — 'Kavikuñjara' and 'Kavicakravarti' were his birudas — Vastupāla was a great connoisseur of art and literature He himself composed the 'Naranārāyanānanda Mahākāvya' and even copied out in his own handwriting Udayaprabhasūri's 'Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya' The Sanskṛt anthologies attribute a number of sūktis to him

Amongst the circle of poets and scholars that gathered around him, the foremost was Somesvara or Somesvaradeva, the family-priest and the poet laureate of the Caulukya king, Bhīmadeva II He composed 'Surathotsava', elaborating the episodes in the 'Durgasaptasatī' of the Markaṇḍeya Purāna, 'Kīrti Kaumudi', a mahākāvya eulogizing the exploits and the meritorious deeds of Vastupāla, a drama 'Ullāla Rāghava', based on the story of the Rāmāyana, which was staged in the famous temple of Dvārkā, and an anthology of the subhaṣitas, 'Karnāmrtaprapā' Somesvara was a great friend of Vastupāla He spanned the period of Vastupāla's literary activities and outlived him by 16 years

The other outstanding scholar to embellish the literary circle of Vastupāla, was Harihara, a direct descendant of Śri Harṣa, the author of 'Naiṣadhīyacarita' He was an accomplished poet and a renowned scholar Several subhāṣitas are attributed to him On occasions he recited relevant verses from the 'Naiṣadhiyacarita' It was he who acquainted the literary world of Gujarat with the 'Naisadhīyacarita' The two earliest known commentaries on 'Naiṣadhiyacarita' — the Vidyādhari Tika (1238-1261 A D) and the tika of Candu Paṇḍit (1297 A D) were both written in Gujarat and follow the text as handed down in the manuscripts of the poem preserved in the Grantha Bhanḍāras of Gujarat

Nānākabhūi or Nānāka, was another scholar who adorned Vastupāla's court. He came from an affluent family of Brahmin scholars He founded a *Sarasvatīsadan* or Vidyālaya in Prabhāsa, where the river Sarasvatī meets the sea Several stray poems are found attributed to him, though no entire work of his has as yet come down

Thakkur Arisimha, and his *disciple Amaracandrasūri,* both poets of distinction and well-versed in the science of poetics, were other distinguished members of Vastupāla's circle Arisimha's 'Sukṛta Samkīrtana mahākāvya', eulogizing the works of Vastupāla, and *Amaracandrasūri's poems 'Bālabhārata' and* 'Padmānanda mahākāvya' and his treatise on poetics, 'Kāvyakalpalatā' are well-known works of this period

Similarly, Vijayasenasūri's 'Upadeśatarangini' in Sanskrit, and 'Revantagirirāsu' in later Apabhramśa, Udayaprabhasūri's 'Dharma bhyudaya mahākāvya' or 'Sanghapaticarita', and '*Sukrtakīrtikallo*lini', 'Jinaprabha's Prabandhāvali', a source-work of the prabandhas or historical episodes of this period, Naracandrasūri's 'Nyāyakandali', 'Jyotihsāra', 'Prakrt-Prabodha' — works on logic, astronomy and *grammar — besides a ṭikā on Murāri's 'Anargha Rāghava' and* on Narendraprabhasūri's 'Alamkāra Mahodadhi', written at the instance of Naracandrasūri's guru Narendraprabha, Balacandrasūri's 'Vasan tavilāsa' — a mahakavya devoted to the life and exploits of Vastupāla, Jayasimhasūri's 'Hammiramadamardana', a play describing the inroads of Muslims during the reign of Vastupāla, and a praśasti of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, Mānikyacandra's well known commentary, 'Sanketa' *on Mammaṭa's 'Kāvyaprakāśa' — these are some* of the celebrated literary works composed during this period

Mention should be made here of Anupamā, the wife of Teja pāla, herself a poetess of note, and a distinguished scholar of philosophy, who was given the epithet 'Ṣaḍdarśanamātā'

We should also mention here Yasovira, a minister of King *Udayasimha of Jhalore, himself a Jain Bania, who has been praised* by Somesvara as 'Vagdevatāsuta' and described as 'Kavīndrabandhu' in contemporary inscriptions He was a connoisseur of art and architecture When asked his opinion about the temples at Abu, *he drew* the attention of Śobhanadeva, the chief architect, to a few of the blemishes in the construction — some of which were mystical and esoteric, while others pertained to defects in the layout or design The fact that his opinion as a connoisseur *of* art was sought shows how highly he was esteemed for his knowledge of art and architecture and his keen insight into their subtleties

Besides literature and philosophy, other branches of study like medicine and astronomy were also pursued assiduously during this period Nāgārjuna, well-known for his proficiency in Jaina Agamic literature was also a proficient master of alchemy (pāradavidyā). He has written 'Rasaratnākara', probably the first work of its kind in India.

The science of medicine was pursued for generations by the Śrigoda and Rāyakvāl Brahmins and the Praśnorā nāgaras of Gujarat. Soḍhala (c. 12th century A.D), a Rāyakvāl Brahmin of Vatsagotra, who flourished in the reign of the Caulukya King Bhimadeva II, wrote two works on medicine — 'Gadanigraha', and 'Guṇasangraha'. The former is a treatise on the diagnosis of diseases and their treatment, while the latter is a work on the properties of medicinal herbs — a sort of materia medica. Yaśodhara who flourished in Junagadh, a century later, has written a work on alchemy — 'Rasaprakāśasudhākara'.

As we have already noted earlier, these periods saw considerable progress in astronomy, which began with Brahmagupta, the author of the celebrated 'Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta', who flourished in the reign of the Chāpa King Vyāghramukha in 638 A D, and was pursued by numerous scholars in the Caulukya and Vāghelā periods

During these epochs architecture and sculpture attained unprecedented heights, as attested by the temples at Abu of such superb beauty, the famous sun-temple at Modherā, the Rudramahālaya of Siddhapur, the step-well of Rāṇivāv, and the lake Sahasralinga at Aṇahilvād Pāṭaṇ, and the beautiful sculptured panels on the gates at Dabhoi and Jhinjhuvādā These wonderful specimens of architecture presuppose provision for advanced training in the arts of architecture and sculpture

The Rajput rulers, from the 9th or 10th century upto the close of the Hindu period, gave munificient donations to scholars in the holy places like Prabhāsa, Dvārkā, Śuklatīrtha, and in the metropolitan towns like Valabī, Pāṭaṇ, Nāndipuri and Bhṛgukaccha, which were renowned centres of learning The schools run by renowned scholars were maintained out of these donations The students' education and board was free of charge Like the Buddhist monasteries of the earlier period, Brahmin temples and maṭhas and the Jain Upāśrayas were famous seats of learning There is ample evidence that kings maintained Sarasvatimandiras, i.e, schools attached to the temples Several schools also provided for the teaching of music and dancing

With these centres *of learning* were *attached rich* libraries of books on palm-leaf and on paper. Such libraries existed in several of the towns of note They date from the Caulukyan period, but they got an impetus during the age of Vastupāla, who founded the famous Jain Jñānabhandāras at Aṇahilvād, Cambay, and Broach. There must have been similar libraries attached to the Brahmanical Sarasvati-sadans also, but they gradually went out of existence, after the repeated onslaughts of Muslims, whose main targets were the Brahmanical seats of learning The Jain Bhandaras have, fortunately, escaped these ravages and have been our main source of the study of literature, philosophy and art of this period

We come across evidence of education of women in the Prabhandas Minaladevi — mother of the legendary King Siddharāja — once acted as a judge in the dialectical dispute between Kumudacandra and Devasūri, and earned the biruda 'Vādidevata Maṇayalla' Similarly, Anupamā, Tejapāl's wife was a poet in her own right *Udayana's* daughter looked after the administration of her father's estates *Women of aristocratic families in Aṇahilvād Pātan* were proficient in the arts of music and dancing Higher education among women was, probably confined to the Brāhmin, Kṣatriya and other aristocratic classes only

In contrast with the copious information available on the system of higher education and traditions of higher learning, we have very scanty references to the indigenous system of primary or elementary education. It is possible that the Mahākāvyas and Nāṭakas, the scientific treatises on medicine and astronomy, and the Praban dhas offered no occasion for description of primary education. Only at one place, a reference to elementary education has survived — *in the 'Vimalaprabandha' of Lāvaṇyasamayasūri (V S 16th century)* — when the poet had occasion to describe how Vimala as a child first went to school Lāvanyasamaya describes the occasion thus —

"*When the son became five years old parents thought* of sending him to a school. The occasion was celebrated with festivities — relations and acquaintances were invited in a gathering and feasted sumptuously Baskets were filled with pop-corn and fried grams for distribution to the poor on the way The school-going boy was clad in costly robes A floral dress (khumpa) adorned his head. Riding on a horse, he commenced his first visit to a school, heralded by a band of *musicians, and accompanied by a procession* of respectable gentry of elders When they reached the school the boy laid his writing materials before the teacher and paid his respects to him The teacher chanted in his ear the 'Sarasvata-mantra' and wrote on

the board the alphabet, and declared a holiday for the other students, to celebrate the occasion Sweets were distributed amongst the students Women in the procession started singing songs appropriate to the occasion The father of the boy presented costly garments to the Pandit — the school-teacher Then as time passed, and the boy had to begin new chapters, the Paṇḍit demanded 'dakṣiṇa' on every such occasion If the boy did not progress well in his studies, he was afraid his teacher would chastise him To escape that he gave the Pandit money and goods surreptitiously, without the knowledge of the parents Such was the manner in which he got his rudiments of education Then he attended a shop to get acquainted with the practices of trade and commerce" ('Vimala Prabandha', III 28 38)

This description refers at length to the elementary schools, which just taught the rudiments of reading and writing, known in the early modern period as 'Gamaṭhī schools' They catered to the needs of the business community who needed to learn three Rs for book keeping and accounts in their trade

The Brahmanical schools — 'Sarasvatisadanas' must have a pattern much different from this, emphasising the learning of Pāṇinian grammatical sutras by rote, and recitation of Veda samhitās correctly and with proper intonation These schools probably date from very early times — earlier than even the Maitrakas The same pattern survived almost to the advent of the British period For the Kṣatriyas — Rajputs of the mediaeval period — there must have also existed schools of military training, organised and supervised by the 'rājapurohita'

We are curious to learn what sort of books were used in these schools The old Indian tradition of elementary education was predominantly oral, relying more on recitation and learning by heart than on written books, which must have been a rare commodity in the early period of palm leaf and then of paper manuscripts But, all the same, books did exist and were used by students as attested by the elementary books on grammar, like Kulamaṇḍana's 'Mugdhavabodha' and other Auktikas, and various 'Bālavabodhas' on the religious and the philosophical treatises of this period, that have so far come down to us There must have been innumerable elementary books of this kind, but few of them seem to have been preserved, perhaps because, these elementary books had hardly any literary significance and were not, therefore, thought worth preserving Inspite of this quite a few *auktikas* and *balāvabodhas* have come down, which fact throws interesting light on the system of secondary and higher education prevailing then

Such is, in the barest outline, a picture, neither detailed nor coherent, of the system of education that prevailed in Gujarat during its two golden periods — the period of Caulukyan renaissance and the succeeding period of renaissance, which flourished in the Vāghelā period, mainly supported by the munificent patronage of the great scholar-statesman Vastupāla.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Merutunga, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, trans. Durgashankar K Shastri, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1934.
2. Rājashekharasūri, *Caturviṁśati Prabhandha*, trans. Hiralal R. Kapadia, Forbes Gujarat Sabha, Bombay, 1934

3-4. Durgashankar K. Shastri, *Gujaratno Madhyakālīna Rājput Itihās, Pts I & II*, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1937 and 1939.

5-6. Dr. Hariprasad G. Sastri, *Maitrakakālīna Gujarat*, Pts. I & II, Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad, 1955.

7. MM. Gaurishankar Hirachand Oza, *Madhyakālīna Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti*, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1933.
8. Durgashanker K. Shastri, *Bhāratīya Saṁskāro ane Tenū Gujaratmā Avataraṇa*, Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay, 1950
9. Narmadashankar Vallabhji Dvivedi, *Gujaratnā Aitihāsik Sādhano*, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1928.
10. Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1953.
11. Ramlal Chunilal Modi, *Lekha Sangraha*, Patan, 1953.
12. Ramlal C. Modi, *Dvāśraya Kāvyamā Madhyakālīna Gujarātnī Sāmājika Sthiti*, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, 1944.
13. Padmanābha-Virachita, *Kāhnadade Prabandha*, ed Dr. K. B Vyas, Pub. Rajasthan Puratattva Mandir, Jaipur, 1953.
14. Lāvanyasamayasūri, *Vimala Prabandha*, ed. Manilal B. Vyas, Surat, 1913.

ሂL

THE TITLES, DATE AND THE CONTEMPORARIES OF KRSNĀNANDA KAVIRĀJA, THE AUTHOR OF SAHRDAYĀNANDA MAHĀKĀVYAM.

By

S S MOHANTY & S C DASH

Introduction

The Orissa State Museum preserves three manuscripts of Sahrdayananda (S N), a Mahakavyam of fifteen cantos in Sanskrit[1] These three are written in Oriya script and they are collected from Khallikote (Dt Ganjam, Orissa), Khurdha (Dt Puri, Orissa) and Bhubaneswar (Dt Puri, Orissa) Only the Khallikote manuscript contains a colophone which mentions Krshānanda Kaviraja (K N K) as the author of Sahrdayananda and who had a royal title "Sandhi Vigrahika" (S V K) S N describes the entire episode of Nala-Damayanti in a simple and lucid style The poet declares solemnly that he has no aspiration to compete with Sriharsa, the scholar of rare erudition who had already written the Naisadhiya Căritam dealing with the same episode Nevertheless this Kavya in its simple but vivid picturesque background projects a complete life of Nala, and thus differentiates itself from the Naisadha Mahakavyam

The problem

This Kavya has been printed and published by Mahamaho padhyaya Durgaprasād in Kavyamala series 32, 1930, by P T Vachaspati Dvivedi (Chowkhamba Bidya Bhavan, 1968) and P T Ananta Tripathy Sharma (Printed at Siromani Press, Berhampur, Orissa, 1958) has published the first Canto of this Kavya with Sanskrit Commentaries and Oriya translations However, this article intends to discuss the date, the contemporary Sanskrit scholars, and kings and the meaning of the different titles of K N K on which the above scholars are almost silent.

1 A Descriptive catelogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa (pp. 128-129)

(I) *K. N. K. and Sriharsa*

In the 7th verse of the first Canto, K.N.K. compares the author of *Naisadhiya Caritam* with *the Sun and himself* with a glow worm. Thus it is needless to mention that he is posterior to Sriharsa.[2]

(II) *Relation with Visvanatha Kaviraja (V.K.J) and other Contemporary Sanskrit Scholars of Orissa*

Verse No. 32 of the 3rd Canto of S.N. is quoted in the 8th Chapter of *Sahitya Darpana* (S.D.) *a treatise on rhetorics by* V.K.J. The example कलिङ्गः साहसिकः in the Lakshana Chapter, the comparison of the queen of Bhanudeva IV with Durga and the mention of *different Colloquial Oriya words as citations of defects in* the Chapter of defects in S.D. leaves no room for any doubt that Visvanatha was not born in Orissa. Though the Suryavamsi period marked *the first renaissance in the Oriya literature, the Ganga Kings* encouraged the Sanskrit learning and the Brahmanical lore in Orissa[3] V.K.J. has three works — S.D. the Narasingha Vijaya (N.V.) and the Chandrakala Natika (C N.). In S D., he mentions that his grandfather Narayana Dasa had defeated a great Pandit named Dharmadatta in the Court of Narasimha Deva, V.K.J.'s father Chandra Sekhar Mahapatra was also a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote two works in Sanskrit the 'Bhasarnava" and the 'Puspamala' Natika. V.K.J. also mentions that Chandidasa was his ancestor. We thus present here the table as given in the introduction of C.N. to bring out the relation of K.N.K. with V.K.J.[4]

Narayana Dasa	Chandi Dasa
Chandra Sekhar Mahapatra (S.V.K.)	?
Viswanatha Mahapatra (Kaviraja and S.V.K.)	Krsnananda Mahapatra (Kaviraja and S.V.K.)

(III) *Praising Narasimha Deva IV*

V.K.J and K.N.K. have both praised their patron King Narasingha Deva IV, in whose Court they flourished as *Kavirajas* In N.V we come across the verse.—

2 Commentary by P. T. Ananta Tripathy Sharma, Sahrdayananda, Canto-1.
3 The Gajapati Kings of Orissa, Chapter 1, p. 1.
4 Historical Significance and the date of V K J Chandrakala Natika, Introduction, Ed by S N Rajguru

आहवे जगद्दण्डराजमण्डल राहवे ।
श्रीनृसिंहमहोपाल स्वस्त्यस्तु तवबाहवे ॥

In S N a similar verse is found after the traditional benedictory verse to Sarasvati in Sl 2 of Canto I

वंस्येऽद्रमेक करजैरनेकैर्विदारयन् श्रोडमिव प्रपन्न
स्वयछेषु स्तम्भेष्वनुबिम्बदम्मात् कुवन्ननेक जयतां नृसिंह

The concluding verse of S N also mentions the name of its patron —

> लक्ष्मीर्यावदलंकरोति हृदयं विष्णोर्नृसिंहाकृते
> र्यावद्विष्णुपदी च धूर्जटिजटाजूटान्तरे क्रीडति ।
> कृष्णानन्दकवे कपिञ्जलकुलक्षीरोदशीतद्युते
> तावत् काव्यमिव तनोतु सुहृदामन्त प्रमोदोऽयम् ॥

(IV) *Epigraphical Evidences*

Besides a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions either on Copperplates or stone belonging to the Ganga period of Orissan history which have been discovered in the region upto Vizagapattam, we have a large number of Telugu and Oriya inscriptions belonging to the Ganga Period (1076 1435 A D)

(a) K N K s name has been mentioned in the Lakuva (Lakshmi) Devi inscription of Saka year 1307 (1385 A D) placed at Simhachalam.[6]

(b) Another inscription of the same temple (1396 A D) records that Kachu S V K *the son of K N K of Varanasi Kataka* made a gift of five Madhas (gold coins) for receiving a Vishnu stotram [7]

(c) Dr S N Rajguru has pointed out that Ganga Prasasti of Sanskarananda Matha Copperplate of Narasingha IV of Saka 1316 (1394 A D) mentions the 11th verse of S N in a slightly modified form which is not placed in the Kenduli Copperplate grant of Narasingha Deva IV of Saka 1305 (1385 A D) [8]

(V) *Observations*

(a) V K J was a poet and a minister who flourished under two Ganga Kings Narasingha Deva IV (1378 1414) and Bhanudeva

5 Evolution of Oriya language and script by Dr K B Tripathy
6 M M Chakravarti Vol LXIV J A S B 1885
7 Vol II pages LXXVI A descriptive catelogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa.
8 Kendali Copperplate grant of Narasingha IV of Saka 1303 Vol V ORHJ April 1956.

IV who completed his work[9] before the second decade of 15th century

(b) It is interesting to note that though V K J has mentioned the name of Bhanudeva IV, Bhanudeva IV has not been mentioned by K N K.

(c) As it is seen from the internal and epigraphical evidences we can safely accept that K N K. had written S N during the period 1384-1394

Titles

(i) During the Ganga Period we come across several titles like Mahasenapati (the great Commander), Senanarendra (the Chief of the Army), Majni (Commander), Bahinipati (leader of a contigent), the *Mahasandhivigrahike (the great minister of* war and peace), the Sandhivigrahika (the minister of war and peace) but these titles lost their importance after the Ganga period[10]

(ii) The title Sandhivigrahika (S V K) is as old as the Gupta period Harisena the author of Allahabad pillar inscription is also entitled as a S V K But during Ganga period there were many S V K 's under one Mahasandhivigrahika[11] The S V K. s were entrusted with the duty of drafting of Copper plates Charters for granting villages They were also in charge of the foreign ministers *office* K N K and V K J *are both* S V K S

(iii) K N K and V K J are both called Mahapatra Now it is a title of the Brahmin in Orissa But originally it was *meant* for the ministers in charge of the revenue department[12]

(iv) Both V K J and K N K are born in the Kapinjala Gotra and they are Brahmins by Caste

Thus to conclude Kavyasahrdayananda was written between 1384 1394 by Krsnananda, a minister of Brahmin Caste in *the* Court of King Narasingha Deva IV of Orissa

9 New data on the date of Ekavali and Sahitya Darpana Page 403 Studies in Orissan History Archaeology Literary History and Archieves
10 The Gajapati Kings of Orissa p 125
11 Life in Mediaeval Orissa Ajodhya Prasad Sah p. 31.
12 History of Orissa by Dr H. K. Mahatab.

Continued from VOLUME XXXIX · No 3

SUBHĀSITAS IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

N. A. DESHPANDE

मनू ... . योऽनूचान म नो महान् । 12-310-6b

अनृतम्– न नर्मयुक्त वचन हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले ।
प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥ 1-77-16
(see 2-159 28 below)

पृष्ट तु साक्ष्ये प्रवदन्तमन्यथा वदन्ति मिथ्योपहित नरेन्द्र ।
एकार्थताया तु समाहिताया मिथ्यावदन्तमनृत
हिनस्ति ॥ 1-77-17

पञ्च पश्वनृते हन्ति दश हन्ति गवानृते ।
शतमश्वानृत हन्ति सहस्र पुरुषानृते ॥ 5-35-26

न नर्मयुक्त वचन
न गुर्वर्थं नात्मनो जीवितार्थे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपात-
कानि ॥ 2-159-28

न रूपमनृतस्यास्ति नानृतस्यास्ति सतति ।
नानृतस्याधिपत्य च कुत एव गति शुभा ॥ 5-105-9

अनृतं जीवितस्यार्थे वदन स्पृश्यतेऽनृते । 7-164-99b

प्राणत्राणेऽनृत वाच्यमात्मनो वा परस्य वा । 12-35-25a

अनृत च न भाषेत मातापित्रो कृतेऽपि वा । 13-110-46b

न्तक – आशा धृति हन्ति समृद्धिमन्तक । 5-40-7a

जातमेवान्तकोऽन्ताय जरा चान्वेति देहिनम् । 12-169-22a

न्नम्– अन्नाद्गृहस्था लोकेऽस्मिन्भिक्षवस्तत एव च ।
अन्नात्प्राण प्रभवति अन्नद प्राणदो भवेत् ॥ 12-18-27

[illegible] 13 62-8

[illegible] [illegible]

अन्न प्राणा नराणा हि सर्वमन्ने प्रतिष्ठितम् । 13-62-25a

अन्न ह्यमृतमाह पुराकल्पे प्रजापति ।
अन्न भुव दिव ख च सर्वमन्ने प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ 13 62-31

. अन्न हि परमा गति । 13-113 22b

अपण्डित – आत्मन कर्मदोषाणि न विजानात्यपण्डित । 3-200-6b

अपत्यम्– नानपत्यस्य लोका सन्ति . ॥ 1-90-67

अनपत्यतैव पुत्रत्वमित्याहुर्धर्मवादिन । 94-59b

अपत्य नाम लोकेषु प्रतिष्ठा धर्मसहिता । 1-111-23a

इष्ट दत्त तपस्तप्त नियमश्च स्वनुष्ठित ।
सर्वमेवानपत्यस्य न पावनमिहोच्यते ॥ 1-111-24

	अपत्य धर्मफलद श्रेष्ठ विन्दन्ति साधव ।	1-111-31a
	इष्ट दत्तमधीत च यज्ञाश्च बहुदक्षिणा ।	
	सर्वमेतदपत्यस्य कला नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥	2-38-2b
अपराङ्मुख –	शस्त्रेण निधन प्राप्ते ये गच्छन्त्यपराङ्मुखा. ।	
	अयं लोकोऽक्षयस्तेषाम्. . . . ।	3-51-16
अपराध –	अजानता भवेत्कश्चिदपराध कृतो यदि ।	
	क्षन्तव्यमेव तस्याहु सुपरीक्ष्य परीक्षया ॥	3-29-29
अपालनम् –	अपालन हन्ति पशून्. . . . ।	5-40-7b
अपृष्ट: –	नापृष्ट कस्यचिद् ब्रूयान्न चान्यायेन पृच्छत ।	
	ज्ञानवानपि मेधावी जडवल्लोकमाचरेत् ।	12-276-34
अप्रज. –	अप्रजस्य महाभागा न द्वार परिचक्षते ।	1-111-11a
अप्रमाद –	अप्रमादोऽष्टदोष स्यात्तान्दोषान्परिवर्जयेत् ।	
	इन्द्रियेभ्यश्च पञ्चभ्यो मनसश्चैव भारत ।	
	अतीतानागतेभ्यश्च मुक्तो ह्येतै सुखी भवेत् ॥	5-43-21
अप्राज्ञ –	शिश्नोदरकृतेऽप्राज्ञ करोति विघस बहु ।	
	मोहरागसमाक्रान्त इन्द्रियार्थवशानुग ॥	3-2-61
अबल –	अबलस्य कुत कोशो ह्यकोशस्य कुतो बलम् ।	
	अबलस्य कुतो राज्यमराज्ञ श्री कुतो भवेत् ॥	12-131-4
	अबला वै विनश्यन्ति मुच्यन्ते च बलान्विता ।	12-289-18b
अबुद्धय –	बहुनापि ह्यविद्वांसो नैव तुष्यन्त्यबुद्धय ।	3-32-32a
अब्राह्मण –	अब्राह्मणे न हि ब्रह्म ध्रुव तिष्ठेत्कदाचन ।	12-3-31b
अभय –	योऽभय सर्वभूताना स प्राप्नोत्यभय पदम् ।	2-254-18b
अभयकराणि –	मानाग्निहोत्रमुत मानमौन मानेनाधीतमुत मानयज्ञ ।	
	एतानि चत्वार्यभयकराणि भय प्रयच्छन्त्ययथाकृतानि ॥	5-35-38
(वृथा)		1-85-24
अभिधीयमान –	यन्मन्त्रे भवति वृथा प्रयुज्यमाने	
	यत्सोमे भवति वृथाभिषूयमाणे ।	
	यच्चाग्नौ भवति वृथाभिहूयमाने	
	तत्सर्वं भवति वृथाभिधीयमाने ॥	13-7-28
अभिवादनशील –	अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्य वृद्धोपसेविन ।	
	चत्वारि सम्प्रवर्धन्ते कीर्तिरायुर्यशो बलम् ॥	5-39 60
(न) अभीत –	नाभीतो यजते राजन्नाभीतो दातुमिच्छति ।	
	नाभीत पुरुष कश्चित्समये स्थातुमिच्छति ॥	12-15-13
अमर्ष –	अमर्षवशमापन्नो न किंचिद्बुध्यते नर ।	5-122 41a
अमासभक्षणम् –	अमासभक्षण राजन्प्रशसन्ति मनीषिण ।	13 116-11b
अमात्य –	राजान राजपुत्र वा संवर्तयति य सदा ।	
	अमात्य पण्डितो भूत्वा स चिर तिष्ठति श्रियम् ॥	4-4-32
	अमात्यो हि बलाद्भोक्तु राजान प्रार्थयेत्तु य ।	
	न स तिष्ठेच्चिर स्थान गच्छेच्च प्राणसंशयम् ॥	4-4 35
	अविजित्य य आत्मानममात्यान्विजिगीषते ।	
	अजितात्माजितामात्य सोऽवश परिहीयते ॥	5-127-27

अमानुषा –	अमानुषेभ्यो मानुषाश्च प्रधाना ।	1-82-6a
अमित्राधम् –	न पुत्रधनलाभेन न राज्येनापि विन्दति ।	
	प्रीतिं नृपतिशार्दूल यामभित्राघदर्शनात् ॥	2-57-5ab
अमूढ –	स्य हि मन्त्रास्यधरो मनीषी धर्मार्थयोरापदि सम्प्रणेता ।	
	एवयुक्तो सर्वमन्त्रैरहीनो अनानृशस्य कर्म कुर्यादमूढ ॥	5-32-19
अमृतम् –	सुदुर्गमिव पन्थानमतीत्य गुणबन्धनम् ।	
	यदा पश्येत्तदा दोषानतीत्यामृतमश्नुते ॥	12-207-29
अयाचन् –	अयाचतो भय नास्ति दत्त च प्रतिगृह्णत ।	1-76-26b
अयुक्त –	नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य नायोगाद्विद्यते सुखम् ।	12-275-16a
अयुध्यमान –	नायुध्यमानो हन्तव्या न च ग्राह्या बलात्स्त्रिय ।	12-133-13b
अराजकम् –	अराजके जीवलोके दुर्बला बलवत्तरै ।	
	बाध्यन्ते न च वित्तेषु प्रभुत्वमिह कस्यचित् ॥	12-49-62
अरिः –	पुनरावर्तमानाना भग्नाना जीवितैषिणाम् ।	
	भेतव्यमरिशेषाणामेकायनगता हि ते ॥	9-57-13
अर्घ्यार्हा –	आचार्यमृत्विजं चैव सयुक्त च युधिष्ठिर ।	
	स्नातक च प्रिय चाहु षडर्घ्यार्हान्नृप तथा ॥	2-33-23
अर्जुन –	अपि शक्यो रणे जेतु वज्रहस्त पुरन्दर ।	
	नार्जुन समरे शक्यो जेतु परपुरजय ॥	7-68-28
अर्थ –	अनारम्भात्तु कार्याणा नार्थ सम्पद्यते क्वचित् ।	10-11-33a
	अर्थाद्धर्मश्च कामश्च स्वर्गश्चैव नराधिप ।	
	प्राणयात्रा हि लोकस्य विनार्थं न प्रसिध्यति ॥	12-8-17
	अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य पुरुषस्याल्पमेधस ।	
	व्युच्छिद्यन्ते क्रिया सर्वा ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥	12-8-18
	यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवा ।	
	यस्यार्था स पुमाँल्लोके यस्यार्था स च पण्डित ॥	12-8-19
	अधनेनार्थकामेन नार्थ शक्यो विवित्सता ।	
	अर्थैरर्था निबध्यन्ते गजैरिव महागजा ॥	12-8-20
	न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्र न कश्चित्कस्यचित्सुहृत् ।	
	अर्थैरर्था निबध्यन्ते गजैर्वनगजा इव ॥	12 136-104
	धर्म कामश्च स्वर्गश्च हर्ष क्रोध श्रुत दम ।	
	अर्थादेतानि सर्वाणि प्रवर्तन्ते नराधिप ॥	12-8-21
	धर्म शरीरसगुप्तिर्धर्मार्थं चार्थ इष्यते ।	12-23 6a
	नास्ति मैत्री स्थिरा नाम न च ध्रुवमसौहृदम् ।	
	अर्थयुक्त्या हि जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥	12-136-14
	अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽय न कश्चित्कस्यचित्प्रिय ॥	12-136-145b
	अर्थ इत्येव सर्वेषा कर्मणामव्यतिक्रम ।	
	न ऋतेऽर्थेन वर्तेते धर्मकामाविति श्रुति ॥	12-161-11
	अर्थस्यावयवावेतौ धर्मकामाविति श्रुति ।	
	अर्थसिद्ध्या हि निर्वृत्तावुभावेतौ भविष्यत ॥	12-161-13
	योऽर्थो धर्मेण सयुक्तो धर्मो यश्चार्थसयुत ।	
	मध्विवामृतसयुक्त तस्मादेतौ मताविह ॥	12-161-23
	येऽर्था धर्मेण ते सत्या येऽधर्मेण धिगस्तु तान् ॥	12-281-19a

	अपत्यं धर्मफलदं श्रेष्ठं विन्दन्ति साधवः ।	1-111-31a
	इष्टं दत्तमधीतं च यज्ञाश्च बहुदक्षिणाः । सर्वमेतदपत्यस्य कला नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥	2-38-2b
अपराङ्मुखः:–	शस्त्रेण निधनं काले ये गच्छन्त्यपराङ्मुखाः । अयं लोकोऽक्षयस्तेषाम् . . . . . ।	3-51-16
अपराधः:–	अजानता भवेत्कश्चिदपराधः कृतो यदि । क्षन्तव्यमेव तस्याहुः सुपरीक्ष्य परीक्षया ॥	3-29-29
अपालनम्–	अपालनं हन्ति पशून् . . . . . ।	5-40-7b
अपृष्टः:–	नापृष्टः कस्यचिद् ब्रूयान्न चान्यायेन पृच्छतः । ज्ञानवानपि मेधावी जडवल्लोकमाचरेत् ।	12-276-34
अप्रजः:–	अप्रजस्य महाभागा न द्वारं परिचक्षते ।	1-111-11a
अप्रमादः:–	अप्रमादोऽष्टदोषः स्यात्तान्दोषान्परिवर्जयेत् । इन्द्रियेभ्यश्च पञ्चभ्यो मनसश्चैव भारत । अतीतानागतेभ्यश्च मुक्तो ह्येतैः सुखी भवेत् ॥	5-43-21
अप्राज्ञः:–	शिश्नोदरकृतेऽप्राज्ञः करोति विघसं बहु । मोहरागसमाक्रान्त इन्द्रियार्थवशानुगः ॥	3-2-61
अबलः:–	अबलस्य कुतः कोशो ह्यकोशस्य कुतो बलम् । अबलस्य कुतो राज्यमराज्ञः श्रीः कुतो भवेत् ॥	12-131-4
	अबला वै विनश्यन्ति मुच्यन्ते च बलान्विताः ।	12-289-18b
अबुद्धयः:–	बहुनापि ह्यविद्वांसो नैव तुष्यन्त्यबुद्धयः ।	3-32-32a
अब्राह्मणः:–	अब्राह्मणे न हि ब्रह्म ध्रुवं तिष्ठेत्कदाचन ।	12-3-31b
अभयः:–	योऽभयः सर्वभूतानां स प्राप्नोत्यभयं पदम् ।	2-254-18b
अभयंकराणि:–	मानाग्निहोत्रमुत मानमौनं मानेनाधीतमुत मानयज्ञः । एतानि चत्वार्यभयंकराणि भयं प्रयच्छन्त्ययथाकृतानि ॥	5-35-38
(वृथा)		1-85-24
अभिधीयमानः:–	यन्मन्त्रे भवति वृथा प्रयुज्यमाने यत्सोमे भवति वृथाभिषूयमाणे । यच्चाग्नौ भवति वृथाभिहूयमाने तत्सर्वं भवति वृथाभिधीयमाने ॥	13-7-28
अभिवादनशीलः:–	अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यं वृद्धोपसेविनः । चत्वारि सम्प्रवर्धन्ते कीर्तिरायुर्यशो बलम् ॥	5-39-60
(न) अभीतः:–	नाभीतो यजते राजन्नाभीतो दातुमिच्छति । नाभीतः पुरुषः कश्चित्समये स्थातुमिच्छति ॥	12-15-13
अमर्षः:–	अमर्षवशमापन्नो न किंचिद्बुध्यते नरः ।	5-122-41a
अमांसभक्षणम्–	अमांसभक्षणं राजन्प्रशंसन्ति मनीषिणः ।	13-116-11b
अमात्यः:–	राजानं राजपुत्रं वा संवर्तयति यः सदा । अमात्यः पण्डितो भूत्वा स चिरं तिष्ठति श्रियम् ॥	4-4-32
	अमात्यो हि बलाद्भोक्तुं राजानं प्रार्थयेत्तु यः । न स तिष्ठेच्चिरं स्थानं गच्छेच्च प्राणसंशयम् ॥	4-4-35
	अविजित्य य आत्मानममात्यान्विजिगीषते । अजितात्माजितामात्यः सोऽवशः परिहीयते ॥	5-127-27

अमानुषा—	अमानुषेभ्यो मानुषाश्च प्रधानाः ।	1-82-6a
अमित्राधम्—	न पुत्रधनलाभेन न राज्येनापि विन्दति । प्रीतिं नृपतिशार्दूल याममित्राघदर्शनात् ॥	2-57-5ab
अमूढ —	यस्य हि मन्त्रास्त्रधरो मनीषी धर्मार्थयोरापदि सम्प्रणेता । एवंयुक्तो सर्वमन्त्रैरहीनो अनानृशस्य कर्म कुर्यादमूढः ॥	5-32-19
अमृतम् —	सुदुर्गमिदं पन्थानमतीत्य गुणबन्धनम् । यदा पश्येत्तदा दोषानतीत्यामृतमश्नुते ॥	12-207-29
अयाचन्—	अयाचतो भयं नास्ति दत्तं च प्रतिगृह्णतः ।	1-76-26b
अयुक्त —	नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य नायोगाद्विद्यते सुखम् ।	12-275-16a
अयुध्यमान —	नायुध्यमानो हन्तव्यो न च ग्राह्या बलात्स्त्रियः ।	12-133-13b
अराजकम्—	अराजके जीवलोके दुर्बला बलवत्तरैः । बाध्यन्ते न च वित्तेषु प्रभुत्वमिह कस्यचित् ॥	12-49-62
अरि—	पुनरावर्तमानानां भग्नानां जीवितैषिणाम् । भेतव्यमरिशेषाणामेकायनगता हि ते ॥	9-57-13
अर्घ्यार्हा —	आचार्यमृत्विजं चैव संयुक्तं च युधिष्ठिर । स्नातकं च प्रियं चाहुः षडर्घ्यार्हान्नृप तथा ॥	2-33-23
अर्जुन—	अपि शक्यो रणे जेतुं वज्रहस्तः पुरन्दरः । नार्जुनः समरे शक्यो जेतुं परपुरंजय ॥	7-68-28
अर्थ —	अनारम्भात्तु कार्याणां नार्थः सम्पद्यते क्वचित् ।	10-11-33a
	अर्थाद्धर्मश्च कामश्च स्वर्गश्चैव नराधिप । प्राणयात्रा हि लोकस्य विनार्थं न प्रसिध्यति ॥	12-8-17
	अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य पुरुषस्याल्पमेधसः । व्युच्छिद्यन्ते क्रियाः सर्वा ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥	12-8-18
	यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः । यस्यार्थाः स पुमाँल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः ॥	12-8-19
	अधनेनार्थकामेन नार्थः शक्यो विवित्सता । अर्थैरर्था निबध्यन्ते गजैरिव महागजाः ॥	12-8-20
	न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित्कस्यचित्सुहृत् । अर्थैरर्था निबध्यन्ते गजैर्वनगजा इव ॥	12-136-104
	धर्मः कामश्च स्वर्गश्च हर्षः क्रोधः श्रुतं दमः । अर्थादेतानि सर्वाणि प्रवर्तन्ते नराधिप ॥	12-8-21
	धर्मं शरीरसंगुप्तिर्धर्मार्थं चार्थ इष्यते ।	12-23-6a
	नास्ति मैत्री स्थिरा नाम न च ध्रुवमसौहृदम् । अर्थयुक्त्या हि जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥	12-136-14
	अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽयं न कश्चित्कस्यचित्प्रियः ॥	12-136-145b
	अर्थ इत्येव सर्वेषां कर्मणामव्यतिक्रमः । न ह्यृतेऽर्थेन वर्तेते धर्मकामाविति श्रुतिः ॥	12-161-11
	अर्थस्यावयवावेतौ धर्मकामाविति श्रुतिः । अर्थसिद्ध्या हि निर्वृत्तावुभावेतौ भविष्यतः ॥	12-161-13
	योऽर्थो धर्मेण संयुक्तो धर्मो यश्चार्थसंयुतः । मध्विवामृतसंयुक्तं तस्मादेतौ मताविह ॥	12-161-23
	येऽर्था धर्मेण ते सत्या येऽधर्मेण धिगस्तु तान् ॥	12-281-19a

अनर्थस्य न कामोऽस्ति तथार्थोऽधर्मिण कुतः।
तस्मादुद्विजते लोको धर्मार्थाद्यो बहिष्कृत.॥ 12-161-24

धर्मं समाचरेत्पूर्वं तथार्थं धर्मसंयुतम्।
तत. काम चरेत्पश्चात्सिद्धार्थस्य हि तत्फलम्॥ 12-161-26

अनुक्रोशाद्धर्मं च जयेद्धर्ममुपेक्षया।
आयत्या च जयेदाशामर्थं सङ्गविवर्जनात्॥ 12-266-9

अनित्यत्वेन च स्नेह क्षुध योगेन पण्डित।
कारुण्येनात्मनो मान तृष्णा च परितोषत॥ 12-266-10

अर्थप्सुता पर दु खमर्थप्राप्तौ ततोऽधिकम्।
जातस्नेहस्य चार्थेषु विप्रयोगे महत्तरम्॥ 1-145-24

अर्थ एव हि केषांचिदनर्थो भविता नृणाम्।
अर्थश्रेयसि चासक्तो न श्रेयो विन्दते नर॥
तस्मादर्थागमा सर्वे मनोमोहविवर्धना।

अर्था दु ख परित्यक्तु पालिताश्चापि तेऽसुखा।
दु खेन चाधिगम्यन्ते तेषा नाश न चिन्तयेत्॥ 3-2-40

यस्य चार्थार्थमेवार्थ. स च नार्थस्य कोविद।
रक्षते भृतकोऽरण्य यथा स्यात्तादृगेव स॥

अतिवेल हि योऽर्थार्थी नेतरावनुतिष्ठति।
स वध्य सर्वभूताना ब्रह्महेव जुगुप्सित॥ 3-34-24

अर्थत्यागो हि कार्य स्यादर्थं श्रेयासमिच्छता। 3-34-63

सुमन्त्रिते सुविक्रान्ते सुकृते सुविचारिते।
सिद्धन्त्यर्था महाबाहो दैव चात्र प्रदक्षिणम्॥ 3-37-5

अर्थे हि महती तृष्णा स च दु खेन लभ्यते। 3-245-2

अनित्या किल मर्त्यानामर्थसिद्धिर्जयाजयौ। 4-19-3a

अर्थानां तु पुनर्द्वैधे नित्य भवति सशय।
अन्यथा चिन्तितो ह्यर्थ पुनर्भवति चान्यथा॥ 4-42-7

चलचित्तमनात्मानमिन्द्रियाणा वशानुगम्।
अर्था समतिवर्तन्ते हसा शुष्क सरो यथा॥ 5-36-38

सहायबन्धना ह्यर्था सहायाश्चार्थबन्धना।
अन्योन्यबन्धनावेतौ विनान्योन्य न सिध्यत॥ 5-37-34

अर्थसिद्धि परामिच्छन्धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत्।
न हि धर्मादपैत्यर्थ स्वर्गलोकादिवामृतम्॥ 5-37-44

आयत्या प्रतिकारज्ञस्तदात्वे दृढनिश्चय।
अतीते कार्यशेषज्ञो नरोऽर्थैर्न प्रहीयते॥ 5-39-41

अतिक्लेशेन येऽर्था स्युर्धर्मस्यातिक्रमेण च।
अरेर्वा प्रणिपातेन मा स्म तेषु मन कृथा॥ 5-39-61

अन्यथा चिन्तितो ह्यर्थ पुनर्भवति सोऽन्यथा॥ 5-78-6a

अभूत्वा हि भवन्त्यर्था भूत्वा नश्यन्ति चापरे॥ 5-133-22

यथा चार्थपति कृत्य पश्यते न तथेतर। 7-5-3b

सुनीतैरिह सर्वार्था सिध्यन्ते नात्र सशय॥ 7 133 50

तत्र सशयितादर्थाद्योऽर्थो नि सशयो भवेत्।
त जना बहु मन्यन्ते येऽर्थशास्त्रविशारदा॥ 10-1-47

अमर्षेणैव चाप्यर्था नारब्धव्या सुबालिशै।
सर्वेषा कर्मणा तात फले नित्यमनित्यता॥ 5-133-23

अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासो दासस्त्वर्थो न कस्यचित्॥ 6-41-36a

अर्थिनः:–	दुर्लभोऽप्यर्थं वा नास्ति योऽर्थी धृतिमवाप्नुयात् ।	12-126-39a
अलभ्यम्:–	अलभ्यं लभते मर्त्यस्तत्र का परिदेवना ।	12-219-20
(न) अलम्:–	नालं सुखाय सुहृदो नालं दुःखाय दुर्हृदः । न च प्रज्ञालमर्थेभ्यो न सुखेभ्योऽप्यलं धनम् ॥	12-27-31
	नालं सुखाय सुहृदो नालं दुःखाय शत्रवः । न च प्रज्ञालमर्थानां न सुखानामलं धनम् ॥	12-168-20
अल्पबुद्धिः–	अनिष्टसम्प्रयोगाच्च विप्रयोगात्प्रियस्य च । मनुष्या मानसैर्दुःखैर्युज्यन्ते येऽल्पबुद्धयः ॥	11-2-18
अवदातानि:–	येषां त्रीण्यवदातानि योनिर्विद्या च कर्म च । तान्सेवेत्तैः समास्या हि शास्त्रेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी ॥	3-1-25
अवध्याः–	अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो स्त्रियो बालाश्च ज्ञातयः । येषां चान्नानि भुञ्जीत ये च स्युः शरणागताः ॥	5-36-64
	शास्त्रदृष्टानवध्यान्यः समतीत्य जिघांसति । स पथः प्रच्युतो धर्म्यात्कुपथं प्रतिपद्यते ॥	10-6-20

[*To be continued*]

The History & Culture of the Indian People

(In Eleven volumes)

Planned, Organised and Directed by Dr K. M Munshi, President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

General Editor R C Majumdar, M A., Ph D, F A S, F B B R A S, Director, History of Freedom Movement in India, Government of India, Ex. Vice Chancellor and Professor of History, Dacca University, Hon Head of the Department of History, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan

Assistant Editors A D Pusalkar, M A, LL B., Ph D., and A. K. Majumdar, M A., D Phil

This is the first history of India written exclusively by her own people which brings to bear on the problems a detached and critical appreciation A team of over sixty scholars of repute present herein a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the political, socio-economic and cultural history of the Indian people

VOLUMES PUBLISHED

Volume I—'The Vedic Age' (From the earliest times to 600 B C) Price Rs 80

Volume II—'The Age of Imperial Unity' (From 600 B C to 320 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume III—'The Classical Age' (320-750 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume IV—'The Age of Imperial Kanauj (750 1000 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume V—'The Struggle for Empire' (100 1300 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume VI—'The Delhi Sultanate' (1300-1526 A D) Price Rs. 80

Volume VII—'The Mughul Empire' (1526 1707 A D) Price Rs 90

Volume VIII—'The Maratha Supremacy' (1708 1818 A D) Price Rs. 90

Volume IX—'British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance (Part I) (1818-1905 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume X—British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance (Part II) (1818-1905 A D) Price Rs 80

Volume XI—Struggle for Freedom' (1905-1947) Price Rs 80

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED
WITH PLATES, MAPS AND PLANS



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

Kulapati K. M. Munshi Marg, BOMBAY-400 007